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HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION.

THIRTEENTH REPORT, APPENDIX, PART VII.

EDINBURGH LAW SOCIETY

THE

MANUSCRIPTS

OF THE

EARL OF LONSDALE.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR HER MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE,
BY EYRE AND SPOTTISWOODE,
PRINTERS TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

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1893.

[C.—7241.] *Price* 1*s.* 3*d.*

INTRODUCTION.

Two collections of historical letters and papers belonging to the Earl of Lonsdale are calendared in the following pages. The larger and more important is that preserved in Lowther Castle, in the neighbourhood of which the possessions of the Lowther family have lain from a very early period of English history. In the reign of Edward I. "Hugo de Louthre, miles," was sitting in Parliament for the county of Westmorland; and from that date down to the present the family name appears constantly in the returns of members from that county or from Cumberland. The other collection is in the Castle at Whitehaven, with which town a branch of the family became connected in the seventeenth century.

At Lowther Castle are two manuscript note-books of proceedings in two of the parliaments of Charles I. The first of these extends from 24th April to 12th June 1626, when Charles's second parliament was hastily dissolved, on its determination not to proceed with the question of subsidy until the charges against the Duke of Buckingham, and other grievances, had been properly considered. The greater portion of the notes appear to have been made during the time the debates were going on—the handwriting is therefore somewhat cramped, and the meaning of the entries at times rather vague, but a careful transcript of the whole has been made, which will be found a very important addition to the printed Journals of the House of Commons and to the other known sources of our information about parliament at that period. The subjects mainly under discussion during the six or seven weeks that this record was kept were the proceedings of the select committee on the charge against the Duke of Buckingham and the doctors' evidence before that committee touching the alleged poisoning of King James; the terms of the remonstrance to Charles on his imprisonment of two of the members, and of the representation to be made to him of the abuses which had crept into the government. A comparison of one entry under June 1, 1626, with an entry of the same date in the printed Commons' Journal,

shows that "Mr. Lowther" was the compiler of these notes. There were, however, two members of that name then sitting in the house, John, member for Westmorland, who was knighted a few days after the above date, namely, on June 6th, and Richard, probably a younger brother of John, who was member for Berwick. The second note-book is written with greater neatness and regularity, and is probably compiled from memory or from rougher notes made during the debates. It reports some of the proceedings of the parliament succeeding that dissolved in 1626, between 4th June 1628 and its adjournment on 26th June; and again between its meeting on 20th January 1629 and the 20th February, when it was adjourned and subsequently dissolved. The petition of right and the bill of tonnage and poundage were among the chief matters debated; and among the speakers it is interesting to note the names of many members who have not hitherto been chronicled as taking any active or prominent part in establishing the principles of parliamentary government which were then being mooted almost for the first time.

The third manuscript volume described in the following Calendar is an account of a little tour through the lowlands of Scotland to Edinburgh made in 1629 by C. Lowther (probably Christopher, afterwards rector of Lowther) and two others, which is not only of much topographical interest, but also gives amusing pictures of the social habits of the people with whom, sometimes by necessity and sometimes by choice, they were brought into contact. Among the districts most fully described is that of Selkirk, the remarks upon the natives of which are not flattering; in the town the travellers had for their lodging "a choking, "smoky chamber, and drunken, unruly company thrust in upon "us called for wine and ale, and left it on our score." At Galashiels they stayed with Sir James Pringle, and narrate many curious customs observed at his hospitable table. Under Edinburgh they describe the law courts, and give a plan of the interior of the building, which is reproduced on p. 80 of this volume, and endeavour, perhaps not successfully, to show the manner in which the sittings were conducted and justice administered. Here and there in the journal are notes on the method of bleaching linen, the measures of corn and liquids, and the coinage and dialect of the country.

Among the miscellaneous seventeenth-century papers are some relating to the proceedings taken against the Quakers in Westmorland, and giving the names and abodes of those imprisoned in the gaols of Appleby and Kendal in 1665; some letters from Queen's College, Oxford, showing the classes of students and the nature of the education in vogue there about 1670; and letters of Sir Thomas Osborne, afterwards Earl of Danby and Duke of Leeds. To the time of the Revolution belong some curious letters to Sir John Lowther from Carlisle, detailing the manœuvres by which Sir Christopher Musgrave secured possession of that garrison in December 1688; and among the many correspondents of the first Viscount Lonsdale, temp. Will. III., are the king himself, Lords Nottingham, Shrewsbury, and Godolphin, and Sir George Rooke, whose letters, though not of great historical importance, are interesting for their references to the events of much moment then passing. The letters of Bentinck, the first Earl of Portland, which belong to the same period, are more remarkable for the quaint French in which they are written than for any light which they throw on public affairs. Of the reign of Queen Anne are letters to and from Thomas, Lord Wharton, two of which give brief but graphic accounts of debates in November, 1705, on the Union with Scotland; others were written at the time of his being Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. In September, 1723, Lord Lonsdale writes a curious narrative to his cousin, James Lowther, of the conduct of the Duke of Wharton and Sir Christopher Musgrave. These personages paid a visit to the Duke's estate in Swaledale near Richmond, in Yorkshire, and there compelled the country people to drink the Pretender's health, themselves pulling off their coats and waistcoats and falling upon their knees to do due honour to the toast. The matter was quickly brought to the notice of a neighbouring justice of the peace, but he, whether from sympathy with the sentiments expressed or from fear of such great men, did not care to meddle with the matter. Under the year 1733 will be found a long letter of the Duke of Newcastle upon the state of Europe generally, and in 1745 is a curious minute by the same Duke about George II.'s treatment of his brother Pelham. Three or four letters about the rebellion in the latter year will also be read with interest, as well as some from Henry Fox,

when holding office in 1755, 1756, and 1760. In 1757 the active politician John Robinson was at work in Whitehaven and Appleby settling election matters there, and his letters to Sir James Lowther from those places give an amusing picture of the methods adopted to conciliate both the electors and the mob. Illustrating the history of the early years of the reign of George III., we have letters of the Earl and Countess of Bute, Lord North, and George Grenville, one from the Duke of Rutland in July 1779 requesting Sir James Lowther's interest on behalf of "Lord Chatham's son, Mr. Pitt, a particular friend of mine," who has declared himself a candidate for Cambridge University, and one very long letter and two short ones from Lord Rockingham in 1780 on the proposed measures of parliamentary reform. In March 1781, the Duke of Rutland writes to congratulate Sir James Lowther on the success of Mr. Pitt's first appearance in the House of Commons, and Sir Michael le Fleming in an undated letter appears to refer to the same occasion when he writes that "Mr. Pitt, your member," was beyond anything he could have had an idea of, and that the whole House was astonished and pleased. There are many interesting though not historically important letters of Pitt to Sir James Lowther, afterwards Earl of Lonsdale, and to his kinsman and successor in the title, Sir William, between 1783 and 1805. The correspondence in December 1788 and January 1789 is much concerned with the severe illness of the King, and includes letters and a memorandum by the Prince of Wales on his proposed regency. A letter from Robert Thoroton, in Dublin, gives a glimpse of the state of Ireland in 1796. A long letter from Sir John Beckett, from Leeds, touching the supplies of corn and the cost of living in 1800, compared with previous years, is worthy of special notice. Among Sir William Lowther's correspondents was his old tutor and connexion by marriage, Dr. Thomas Zouch, of Sandal, near Wakefield, a learned divine and author of repute in his day. The Rev. Henry Zouch, an elder brother of Thomas, was a correspondent of Horace Walpole, and Walpole's letters to him are in Lord Lonsdale's possession; they are, however, all printed in Cunningham's edition, with the exception of two of slight importance. Henry, too, was a very active magistrate, and carried on a good

deal of correspondence on public affairs with persons of more or less prominence. Among the letters written to him were one or two from Wilberforce; David Barclay, of Red Lion Square; Samuel Glasse, of Greenford, Middlesex; W. Weddell, member for Malton: Sir Richard Hill, who writes from Harley Street in 1789; and Archbishop Markham. These letters, however, have little interest at the present time, and are therefore unnoticed in the following Calendar.

To students of the personal and political history of the opening years of this century two bundles of correspondence, entitled "Correspondence relating to Mr. Pitt's death" and "Negociations with the Grenville party" respectively, will be of surpassing interest. In dealing with letters of such comparatively recent date and touching upon topics not without their bearing upon controversies of the present day, it has been thought best to print the large majority of the letters at full length, and to leave each reader to draw his own conclusions from them. The names of Lord Lowther's correspondents at this time will suffice to show the great value of the views expressed by them on the political crisis of 1806; among them are:—the Earl of Essex, Lord Mulgrave, Lord Camden, the Earl of Westmorland, W. Spencer Stanhope, George Canning, George Rose, Charles Long, afterwards Lord Farnborough, Lord Melville (Dundas), and Lord Grenville. Contemporary with this correspondence, but found in another bundle, is a remarkable letter of William Wilberforce to Lord Lowther, with which a note from Henry Brougham, then comparatively unknown, is enclosed. In this note Wilberforce is asked whether Lord Lowther would be likely to lend his support to bring Brougham in for Westmorland, where a vacancy had just occurred. Wilberforce is not at all enthusiastic in the matter, rather the reverse, but the account which he gives of Brougham's career up to that date is noteworthy. Lord Lowther's reply is very brief and emphatic. This little episode in the life of a remarkable man appears to have been unknown to his biographers. The selections from the correspondence at Lowther Castle conclude with letters of the Hon. Henry Lowther to his father, chiefly when engaged in the Peninsular War. It should not be omitted to mention that there are also a large number of letters of the poet Wordsworth,

which have been recently examined by Prof. W. Knight for the purposes of his new Life of Wordsworth ; no extracts, therefore, are given from them in the Calendar. Among other letters of the present century at Lowther Castle, which, for various reasons, have also been omitted from the present report, are some from Dr. Burney, dated at Chelsea College, between 1806 and 1812 ; from Lady Hester Stanhope, 1805–1808 ; from Watson, Bishop of Llandaff, written between 1803–1811 ; and from the Duke of Wellington, 1827 and later.

At Whitehaven Castle are preserved a few letters of Roger Kirkby, who sat in the Long Parliament for Lancaster, to Christopher Lowther in July and August 1641, narrating some of the proceedings in the House ; a remarkable letter of William Penn, from " Pennsberry," in 1701, to Sir John Lowther, showing the difficulties with which he had to contend in the colony named after him ; a few London news-letters, temp. Queen Anne ; and letters of Bishop Nicolson of Carlisle in 1714 and 1715. Sir John Lowther, of Whitehaven, was a Commissioner of the Admiralty from 1689 to 1696, and there is a large collection of Admiralty books and papers relating chiefly to those years. The interest of these is purely official, and hardly any original letters of any kind were found among them.

J. J. Cartwright.

THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE EARL OF LONSDALE.

I.—AT LOWTHER CASTLE.

"The Justice Diet.

1567. 6° die Maij.

An Estimat of a proportyon for the Assises.

A howse	First prepar a howse And sume stuffe Carlell with a Barne and horse gresse and fyre	vj^{li}
beiff	*yt* two fat oxen from Blaikston - -	vj^{li}
mutton	*yt* xxiiij^{li} fat wethers from Louther -	vj^{li}
veale	*yt* xij veale Calues in the markett -	iij^{li}
malt	*yt* xxiiij^{li} bushell malt from Louther -	vj^{li}
wheat	*yt* xxiiij^{li} bushel of wheat from Louther	vj^{li}
whyn	*yt* A Tonne of wyne at Newcastell -	x^{li}
kydds	*yt* xij kydds at Carlell market - -	xx^{s}
lam	*yt* xij lames in the Countre - -	xx^{s}
wilde ffoule	*yt* wylffoule in the Countre - -	xl^{s}
conyes	*yt* x dosin Conyes at Wyrkinton -	v^{li}
capons	*yt* Capons fat - - -	v^{li}
chekyns	*yt* xx dosin Chekyns in helton - -	xx^{s}
spice	*yt* Spices from london - - -	v^{li}
rewards	*yt* in Rewards for Venison bringing -	xl^{s}
gaulv	*yt* house room to Skepp (Shap ?) -	v^{li}
	yt pegs - - - - -	xii."

BIRMINGHAM LAW SOCIETY

[*Endorsed*]

"Rychard lowther being Sherif Anno 9 Elizabeth."

[1626. Notes in Parliament:—*a small 4to Volume.*]

24 April 1626.

"Select Committee examining divers privately and hearing the house or some disliked Glanville in the chair desired the opinion of the house how to proceed, signifies also new matter not fit to be published to all lest discovery of persons and matter might prejudice the cause.

Sir Clement Thockmorton shewed the dislike of the proceeding, privately estranging the members unparalleled.

Sir Walter Earle doth defend it by precedent of Merchant Adventurers but it was by order. Gave reason enforced against him.

Ordered 3 of the Select Committees to take examination of any if sick and to return it in writing and any to be present at Select Committee, to reduce the old matter into form, but they have said it is new matter.

Upon the question whether Select Committee may bring in new matter propounded to them concerning the Duke, though neither house directed heads, house divided 60 odd that they may, yet maintained most and better reasons to the contrary for the prejudice that may follow, for so may a Select Committee take what they will, refuse what they will.

which only the house should do, and so shall we be guided by a few who prepared may blind our reason, we strangers which debated first and considered at Committee could not be but should be parliamentarily a dangerous plot for a favourite Parliament, now the contrary.

Ordered at Select Committee none to interpose in the ordering of the matter, or penning, but all be present at examination at will.

Mr. Jefford reports the leave given and notice to the Duke by notes, and said he might send for copies. The Duke took it well; said after Lords sat he would give answer, which he did and gave all thanks for this favour, since he desired nothing more then to satisfy us. That he gave thanks for the notice, and though it might prevent perhaps our transmission to the Lords, which he considered how grievous it was, the Lords would not give leave, but he pressed it not though necessary, because the King's business and the occasions did so press him, that it might spend time to his prejudice which he himself had rather endure. Knows his hazard to be reported to the Lords, yet will not he while he hath any favour forbear to do the best offices that he can for this house nor he will not hinder the King's business. Shews his zeal to his country declared upon the dissolution of the treaties, and how hazarded King's favour in that for to [do] good to his country, and to satisfy this house, howsoever now thought.

1. Duke no author of Recusancy as yet unresolved.

2. Resolved at Committee the Duke cause of loss of Rochelle in not well guarding since treaty dissolved, and not in the house resolved.

3. Plurality of offices in one hand to be affixed on him.

Resolved on him as before in the house.

4. That Duke is affixed to the sale of honours to Lord Roberts.

5. King's revenue to maintain honours instanced in his mother, two brothers, brother in law and niece.

Resolved the Duke a cause of bestowing honours of those for whose maintenance King's revenue exhausted.

6. That Duke cause of ships delivered to French employed against Rochell.

Resolved in the house the $10^{m}l.$ of India Company an undue extortion by Duke.

7. Sale of Judicature, Cinque Ports, Treasurer-ship affixed on him by the question.

8. Intercepting, exhausting, and misemploying of King's revenue. Chelsea house agreed a cause, and all the other lands put upon Duke also.

Doctor Ramsay.

There was neither eating, drinking &c. but by consultation; this they know not, every consultation was set down under their hands; he knows not who made it, but the general voice was, it was made in the Duke's Chamber, divers physicians by when it was applied by Hayes, none contradicting, but about an hour after he died; laid on at 4 of clock to worst side eight, continued till midnight and after he declared his dislike to Gibb and Dishington. It was taken off because King swooned, the next night he asked Chambers and him what made him so evil last night, they gave natural causes as cold, as height of disease, but he said no, it was that he had from the Duke of Buckingham, but whether he meant the plaster or potion he knew not, but the Duke brought him a potion twice and gave it, at the beginning of his fit, but the third time King refused.

An hour or half betwixt the potions and so the third time, then he put it away with his hand.

Doctor Moore shewed a bill of the recipe, the symptoms that followed was panting, raving, sounding, uncertain beating of pulse; he saith the ingredients of the bill were by them subscribed to be good, upon question loco et tempore. Doctor Moore brought the bill after to be subscribed from the Duke, but whether they were in or not we know not, he thinks it was intended they should subscribe it was the same drink, but he knows nothing to induce his intendment, *all physicians did subscribe alike*, the effects were all one of drink or plaster; subscription required Sunday or Monday, but what the reason he was required to subscribe he knows not. Sir William Paddie made the bill of it, he doth not know that the Duke ever caused other physic to be ministered.

Doctor Atkins. Few of them acquainted with it before, but they were told after, but they did not know what was in it, drink nor plaster, before applied; he was told it was treacle done by Duke's mother. They did nothing but by general conference entered and written, they directed a plaster but to King's apothecary. If it was treacle would do no hurt, his fever did grow upon him worse and worse until he died, but he was better before, and they conceived the disease to be declining until that this was offered in the prohibited time, they rather disliked but would say nothing lest might offend Duke and the King. Doth not know that Duke did know the prohibited hours. Chambers and Ramsay and Cragthen. The bill of the ingredients was shewed after by Doctor Moore from Duke and justified in due time and place to be successful, but whether made of those particulars he knows not, the subscription was only of the Duke, they think this drink not good in this time. Doctor Moore not sworn physician to his knowledge nor told him that he made it, he knows not the effects, he was dry at his , his humours in good temper.

[April 25.] Sir Benjamin Rudyard moves subsidies lessened in the gentry not in nobility nor clergy, yet brought to half, whereas other men's lands are higher rented than of old; therefore desires to improve the old wages, for a gentleman at 20*l.* ennobled 300*l.* therefore desires by Exchequer rolls to be augmented, and to maintain ports at country charge, and ships, therefore desires we so proceed as to make the Parliament his favourite to exceed 4*s.* the pound.

Sir George Moore agrees, dislikes adding above 4*s.*; compares kingdom to a common pasture, care it be not overcharged, sellers makes fall buyers will not rise.

Wandesford desires a great committee as parliamentarily to proceed upon.

Littleton in the chair.

Vice Chamberlain, none to move unnecessaries nor long orations, wherein interlocution must avoid contention, accounts his message. When we proposed supply all our debate truly reported, King satisfied, expected we think of necessities in time, and preparation of aid, now how to amend it first in number, then in weight.

Stroude junior. The King's necessity though put on us, we did not agree to the 50^{m}*l.* a month abroad, wherefore we did not bring it.

Clark speaks for dejected subjects, grievances sowed only in the ear, not redressed. Habeas Corpus stoppeth execution. precedency, extortion in Courts, crime, fees extraordinary in probate, citation for fees. Exchequer fees advanced 1*l.* in 2*s.* from 6^{s}. 8^{d}. to 18^{l}. 6^{s}. 8^{d}. prescribe in 30 years so may it therefore.

Offices in all Courts Westminster alike; sheriffs sell their offices, now applies as in a field to long for the day, those drones he would cast out the Commonwealth the home he cites the hedgehog.

May not subsidies and grievances go on as well as subsidies and privy seals; now to give no more, but engage at next sessions, and so from sessions to sessions while war continues.

Sir Nicholas Saunders would not have subsidy, lest it be an annual revenue, besides cannot be maintained in this Court; therefore proposeth a help not new, honourable and profitable to King and pleasure to subject: wards and purveyance to be taken at contract, which King James gave way to, this provides for future—agreed to be 200^{m}*l.* by year.

Browne. No more Subsidies, but to augment them; those under 5*l.* to stand; above doubled; wards &c. good if feasible, so resumption.

Martins. Maturity of counsels, and means good, but both spend time, which lost they will not redeem, and though country's wants opposed to King's he thinks now [countable]; looks upon building porticoes apparell &c. tells the tale of the geese roasted by sticks—proposeth 2 s[ubsidies] 2 fifteenths.

Crew agreed supply, move a Committee of 12.

Sir Richard [Grovenor]. Give: not endanger Commissioners as 12 H. 7. and H. 4., times when the gift so great.

Diggs. Country poor; who otherwise say fit to be cast out of Court, if add more subsidies they will spare themselves: desires to advance the higher sort.

Kirton would not pay the dishonoured money: the rest to be considered of.

Chancellor Exchequer. If King not satisfied in 5 days must go to new counsels, now time to resolve actions though after council in power before—if time would suffer, to increase proportion of subsidies were good; though no success; no cause to deny payment. He recites particular charge fleet will take, all this [granted]. Presseth resolves of right understanding; King and people cannot be unless his holy anchor be taken hold of, therefore desires first to resolve to give, next how, and what presently.

Wandesford. To resolve to give, tomorrow what to give. Glanvile dare not blame counsels; desires to know from us how to ground them. If burden be greater than that the kingdom can bear will be amiss, therefore would not have us talk of poverty to encourage enemy. Desires to resolve to give, after consider what.

Sir E. Spencer hath a motion, but desires all to be brought in, to take the best.

Resolved to augment and enlarge the gift already intended to the King.

Doctor Betwin a sworn physician attended much. There was as he heard plasters and potions ministered, without assent as King told him, a julep given and a plaster to his stomach; order given for their medicines by one consent for most part, not for this. He heard it acknowledged that Duke told King he had used such plaster and it had done him good. He had a note given after of the ingredients, and he saw it, but knows not what was in it. Before the plaster given the disease somewhat declined: he came to him three or four days ere he died. The note was sent to them after King's death that day or next to know whether the plaster or julep did hurt; it was sent in a note Doctor Atkins hath, but Sir William Paddie or Doctor Moore hath it, they conjectured by smell of plaster it was like the note. Doctor Moore joined in advice before the plaster, and was most part there, they saw the King talk with him, and wished them to advise with him, and approved their opinions to agree often. Woolfe hath the note to which the hands are, who made them he knows not, he found his fever more, and yet no symptoms but before a

stopping of his breath by other causes; the fever increased, he smelt it, it was of treacle as the note shewed, he saw no inconvenience in the plaster.

Doctor Chambers a sworn physician said there was a plaster when they were to purge, which they desired to be taken away when they purged about the fifth fit; it was above a fortnight ere he died. He heard no effect of it, but murmured because they consented not, but he was little worse, we directed a plaster before. They heard this plaster given divers; Warwick, Carie, Duke, and had done good before; that Hayes the King's surgeon applied it, as thinks, but he took it away. He was well the Saturday when he left, and on Monday ready to go abroad; to have fit that night, not well on Tuesday when he returned nor ever after: and Harvey, that night with King, told him the King worse that night, and if had like could not scape; the plaster he had was applied in cold fit, taken away in hot. The night after Ramsey and he watched in the violence of it; King said he was far worse. He comforted him, and said he abhorred hot drink, yea a toast in it, though they prescribed it: they gave me warm drink that makes me burn and roast so, and would have given more: but he was cold. The drink prescribed was but a posset, but he said that whatever was said was written down and brought to the Council in the morning.

The drink the Duke gave was a posset with gillyflower he drank off, resolved, a hot drink after cold, and to refrain, but not burned. He would say, Will you murder me and slay me? What advised was underhand. Asked of the paper to certify, he was uncertain.

[Dr. Harvey.] A plaster applied to his side, thinks twice, first his fit worse, secondly done in the afternoon at the beginning his fit, the King desired it; commended by Duke as good for him, and Earl of Warwick his opinion asked before done; he gave no opinion because ingredients not known. He gave way to it, thinking it easy, and could do no harm; he thought it not against his opinion nor consultation, and King desired it, it being external, to work while he by; and it was hot, and at his hot fit they took it off. Lister present at the laying it on. The posset drink the Duke prepared; the King called for it, drank once or twice; because it was commended King desired it; because the medicine Duke and Warwick had used it, King determined to take it. He knows no advice of doctors to take it. Sunday; King heavy, he got him to rise; said better, but found heaviness at his heart on Monday, as in other fits, and he feared that fit would be worse because had less fit before, which he told physicians, his disease not mending when that done. He first that spoke of King's demise before that fit twice, and he was in fit before next consultation. Lister, Moore came; he thinks Atkins. Lister opposed the posset thinking King called for drink; the night before the ague in his opinion still increased: on Saturday at conference the physicians thought not the King was mending. The day the King died upon, knows Sir William Paddie brought the note: and it was approved and might be used: generally they disliked a plaster, but not this. They said the plaster was a secret of a man of Essex; Hayes laid it on, King liked it as approved and experimented it, and King took divers things whether they would [or] not, undervaluing physicians. He commended the posset.

Doctor Lister heard and saw a plaster applied; thinks it was of Limithridate (?) as said he smelt it and it seemed so; he was on Sunday with the King. Contrary to Harvie he was not present when applied, nor advised not in it: for the diet they advised [?moncorn]. King was loth to have plaster off; though at hot they disliked it, at cold good. He pre-

sent at posset giving; who gave it he knows not, and he tasted of it after. Came with plaster, resolution was but restraint, if could do it well, but he wished him forbear, yet took it, and thought it could do no harm, for he observed the gilly-flowers in the taste of another pot, part of it wherein it came. Harvie there ; Moore joined in consultation subscribed it, let blood in known vein, and the fit more moderate but no declination ; he did wait till he died. Subscribed Doctor Paddie's note ; said he came from King or Lord Duke or both ; he never heard King dislike it.

Levestone heard of it, but not present at plaster ; never heard King speak of it nor the drink, one fit better after the plaster.

Hayes, sworn surgeon. Plaster applied twice or thrice last Monday ; he at doing of it, Lord Duke's folks brought it in.

Second time he put it on by King's command to make the plaster out of the box. Baker brought it up and tasted it when he gave it me, he put it on leather one to stomach twice. He told physicians of it some stood by 4 the clock afternoon and one always there : that night he went to bed till almost day, but he thinks he was at taking of it off, he heard the Duke not persuade him but told it had done such good, no physician disliked, it was left to the room keepers to dispose of, he knew it laid on before, some doctors not content with it, yet he did it by King's direction.

Arundel heard it called for and all present ; Duke went to London and physicians directed ; he examined posset he saw made in Duke's Chamber. Baker one as he thinks perhaps he errs in that, Baker a barber, many about it, who brought it up he knew not ; he saw the King drink of it he helped to mix it with gillyflower, he thinks not one in the Chamber but did taste of it, he a great deal often. Syrup came with the box whether in bowl or tankard the posset was he knows not, trorgill or mithridate predominate in plaster, he neither said nor thought that doranis was in it.

Sir Edward Payton of toad's flesh, he said of frogs.

Doctor Moore no sworn physician came Thursday seven night to King before he died, he was there every day, he was at all consultations after he came save one ; he set his hand to them, agreed or parted. Apothecary Woolfe hath resolutions, no plaster directed by the physicians. A plaster applied not spoke of by the physicians that he knew. Warwick commended us Duke he saw it taken off. Harvie saw it applied but not knowing the contents he said he to blame. Crag and Harvie all day there taken off about 8 o'clock when cold fit left, lest with sweat fell off, whether Warwick and Duke commended it or not he knows not, a letter was written to the maker who writ it was London treacle and juice of citrons ; all joined to have the letter written. Hayes said it was plain posset drink with hartshorn in it, because Crag and Gib had spoke it did hurt, a note was made at Sir William Paddies instance what it was, not hurtful resolved ; after bleeding fit left but no declination of disease and ever after had a fever.

Buying offices Monday Exchequer Chamber.

Lord Morley's Bill Saturday first in turn.

To account upon oath on Monday.

[April 26.] Wednesday how to augment supply.

Wilde cites the manner of tastes 8, 9th 10th habit seised his land H. 3 merchant noble.

Desires knight's service into socage.

Sir G. Moore : multitude of Commissioners, tenders subsidy.

Justice of Peace 20*l.* desires to add subsidy.

Sir John Savile at breach of treaties engaged all to do it and thinketh breach with Spain best peace being to this Kingdom. Other relief than subsidy. King must hold if we go on else we cannot undertake war, sell King's revenue he will go on, else lack endanger us; 3,000l. men no sent to bear subsidy but a million from 4s. to 8 he dislikes, remembers 2 subsidies first protested never to be precedented, yet precedented next Parliament, by him said no, if offer for words been accepted better to crown by 3 millions or this Baronet's arrears to pay to King to be 66l. 13s. 4d. [ ] 100*l.* knight father dead not in field 30*l.*, justice 20*l.*, he being 30l offers 15l at first subsidy.

Sir William Bulstrode confident England send fleet to make Spain smite; dislike Spanish hearts in English bodies.

Recusants forfeits King's own and one subsidy more.

Hobie: Act of Parliament of subsidy powerful enough in fining [protesters] and choosing them; would take away certificates. Landlord pay highest subsidy laid of any land since Queen Elizabeth's time. Compares to Fleet Street Conduit if stopped to go to spring head and so come down not make a new well; this done adds a subsidy.

Carvell: to give out of usury practised by King, King extorted fees, sold office and Church livings, if a part of lawful penalty, acquitting the payers and punishing receivers only to produce it.

Carrington rejects this as too long, indeed impossible.

Smyth moves enhancement, double recusants.

Sir Edward Sands: necessary and difficult. King to others we to him engaged moves order we fly at all; first to amplify this—2, addition; 3, all projects; desires to sell on first for order, statute mentioneth utmost value, to increase it adds not to King for we cannot exceed utmost, not to enhance it to Queen Elizabeth's time, not now so alter. Building apparel furniture and signs of wealth. Causes of poverty, impositions add to poverty, we could do more for 5 than now for 7 by that means when Queen Elizabeth's subsidies number increased diminished in value fifteen and subsidy were 150m, last under 70m; he concurs with Sir John Savile titles of honour to pay [increment].

Wilson shews how Carleton taken at Lancaster had instruction to gather 70m for Doway, expressed in a petition, and he cites Chancellor of Duchy to have it in his hands.

Chancellor Duchy had on examination sent off a contribution by hearsay from a man to no purpose so take heed of hearsay.

Wandesford approves Sir E. Sands but not to idolize supposeth the best way to increase, desires every county to bring in their subsidies and present their opinions.

Sir Dudley Diggs: the utmost value beyond charge and maintenance is intended in subsidy.

Sir P. Hamond: to make mean commissioners and move to meet together to assess by voices.

Vice Chamberlain: no orator nor actor, no loss of time against Elliott we must be *pro lege pro grege pro rege;* he had here we move conquest, not if we lose not opportunity D. Wymy [Weimar?] General of Denmark's force he gone back in despair for our confusion here Denmark hath 55m men embrace opportunity shall have advantage; Eliott's distinction, likes not of Eliott, likes not of augment and addition, desires one subsidy.

Chancellor Exchequer: the new proposition of difficulty requires new Parliament far beyond 5 days desired and the increase in those given. The conquering speech he doth dislike.

Secretary: certo this enlargment by us is but that which is given as before for King by Commissioners, may expect advancement we can do no more.

Resolved to add another subsidy to the 3 subsidies intended for supply.

Mr. J. Delbridge Factor had privilege being heard.

[April 28.] Thursday: agreed continuance of statutes to be on Saturday.

Spencer: to aid King move for tonnage and poundage to be brought to a book of rates and a remonstrance because of the last stay and then the Kings profit and our right to be remonstrated by a sub-committee.

D. D. moved farmers who take customs by Privy Seal to be sent for.

Ordered a sub-committee June to make rates, and a remonstrance desired: avoided, meet two Star Chamber.

Though customs taken before Parliament at change of King yet never after Parliament as now, therefore the customs that received if contrary may be questioned, the question avoided lest send and not punish prejudice.

Glanvile commanded by 12 to report the plaster and the posset drink to King James before his death: he reports substance of process attended by sworn physicians, general direction nothing but by advice, particular moment a drink before fits, affirmatively none contrarying applied at prohibited times plaster and posset upon declination, it was done by direction of Duke continued most part of the night then took off grew worse, the raving &c. mentioned by one Hart and Draght. The note brought after to have subscription served to be good loco tempore, some directly denied it; that Paddie and Moore came from Duke upon some muttering, the posset likewise drunk, one saith King had it of Duke; 2, 3 refused another drink, once plaster taken off because made him worse he asked why worse. Ramsey &c. answered for cold: King said, It was that I had of the Duke.

They think it to be added to Duke's charge as a transcendent presumption of dangerous consequence.

Primrose his testimony urged by Sir Walter Earle in his confession; he saith he eat of it, that the Countess said now was the time to lay it on.

[April 28.] Umpton Crooke by privilege of Parliament had examinations taken against him in Chancery, by letter from Speaker suppressed, yet commissioners sent for though knew not but by his allegation that he was Parliament man, the party plaintiff also sent for because he said Crooke came in by bribery and corruption.

Bill of apparel reported by Norris.

We added proviso for war; on election if Lords dislike they offer conference, not we.

Wandesford reports the great Committee's resolution of the Select Committee, if the fact merit.

Consulted no physician but by common assent, they sent after medicine given to us, to Duke, and to King, to advise to give, to take no more.

Resolved that posset drink given contrary to direction, without advice, disliked after if madman excuse against common person excuse not against King.

Plaster given before King worse after, declining before he in King's Bench refused to lay it on so King's physicians dissuaded second time as he saith.

Doctor Moore recusant to practice.

The application and drink transcendent presumption, dangerous consequence.

Regular potions receipt from Duke by Baker his recovery, his joy to be experimented for King given col Core. He contrary physician, being treacle only. Physicians say King compounded of inverting quality.

Hayes: King commanded to fetch Duke's plaster, how that he had from Duke made him sick.

Resolved Duke gave drink plaster applied by his direction.

Resolved as Select Committee this to be annexed to the Duke's charge.

They observed no contradiction but Duke's direction and contrary direction.

Maule not called because upon hearsay desired direct for another business which he found foul, never intended upon first two for life yet conceive somewhat material.

Chancellor Exchequer: these seem presumptions to us which to Kings and their near ones are but liberty, the word presumption seems to induce a crime, therefore thinks this to be no cause for a charge.

Sir John Eliot without knowledge or consent applied 2 they refused proceeding until taken off.

Sir F. Steward: King could not endure hot drinks as Chambers said, therefore how King could desire it judge.

Sir Thomas Gurnie: sorrow to speak here against opinion, once more after that conference, heard it at Court first and since that great rashness and indiscretion, if wise men always wise fools might beg.

Newbery: Southampton had no evil intention when he would have surprised Queen Elizabeth for an hour or two to have removed some from the Queen, yet was it adjudged treason.

Sir Walter Tirrell shot at stag, killed King, no treason, no evil intention.

Duke received it 30, killed him 60. The boldness.

Resolved, an act of transcendent presumption of dangerous consequence.

Vice Chamberlain Diggs remembered so well of old that he cannot forget him late this not fit to be added if taken by most senses not to be added but as this, or if freer, wider, higher matter.

Marriott: why rested so great a while was a parliament before then, if no evil intent, no danger to him, why to be charged; if this added silence the rest, thinks the Committee intended well to preserve blood royal rather than impeach him so dear to the King and same. Cites Ambassador [Crive] from Venice a letter writ from him so opposite to Pope or Spain as he hold a patriot of that Commonwealth.

Muscano his Secretary gathered matter of infamy to disgrace his master's merit; he therefore sent for, imprisoned 3 years, the master came home, after the inquisitions upon fame enquired witnesses could not justify, cost lives; the man brought such particulars as seemed to accuse, and condemned to higher court where to death he hung out.

His name razed out, confiscation.

They out of office as 6 monthly now found first false, the second just witnesses; executed; restitution by Court; all that could be but could not give life.

We concluded fair cause to enquire, we have proceeded to accuse. Concluded as before, we remit it to other courts. What they will do we know not who may not be accused by fame, have a commission of enquiry, therefore desires this charge not to be added.

Long justifies his argument fire and ashes, he spoke of the ashes in free conscience he judge equal to and not in indite, he had rather to have this set on Duke than this house having so far condemned the fact, we but inquisitors they to judge.

That Committee resolved this to be annexed to Duke's charge.

[April 29.] Vice Chamberlain shows how the plague in Paris and Venice, and other great cities through Government doth little hurt, in other places such excess ; desires a bill, offers his knowledge to help.

Can the King make no profit by the ordering.

Chancellor Exchequer : King having given way against Duke, and hearing of new matter to be brought against Duke, wherein desiring his honour should not be in suspense, desires not hinder the business of commonwealth ; it may be presented cares not whether to King or Lords.

Montagu resolved to be transmitted with the charge and aggravation 1. Publishing doctrine contrary English church established by the articles and homilies. 2. Seditious passage to disturbance of church and state. 3. To draw English to Romish, disgrace of Protestant divines.

Profaneness and scurrility at preaching and other divine exercises.

Required by Sir Nathaniel Rich to be transmitted by message to be delivered at Lords' bar by Mr. Pim, as formerly done by Sir Edward Hobie against Bishop of Durham.

Resolved accordingly, and the exceptions to be left in writing with the Lords, first to be approved by the Committee.

Monday 9 of clock French porter stayed to be put to question upon Duke.

Mr. Selden : in Sir Robert Howards' case, the High Commissioners under Lords to be questioned and questions prepared by Committee.

Sir H. Martin heard before proceeded to censure ; acknowledgeth if true the offence great. Recites the resolution of the house of his claim that ought to be allowed, denied.

He a Commissioner, but denieth breach of privilege. Mentioneth 2 answers both good, one for the men, another for the matter, the matter is resolved and now must believe for the man.

He maketh 4 heads. 1. He knoweth not that he ought to have privilege. 2. Not bound by reason to know it. 3. He overruled and passive as he. 4. It becomed not his degree.

To the first. Parliament begun February continued till May divers prorogations by proclamation last from 3 of March till 20 of April. King died 27 March ; his first wrong was 5 of March, if he did ever the first day he Parliament man notorious honourable etc., then claimed no Parliament, [March] 17 he argued it shewed how Keeper gave privilege for that. Keeper denied for that all reasons avoided as no good challenge so to have privilege he knew not.

2. Judge though must know things proper to his Court yet not things *dehors* as physic, Parliament, he not experienced, not read, so not bound by law or reason to know it, he understood not difference 'twixt prorogation and adjournment, but if Parliament had sat reason might prove it but not now upon adjournment ; where he sits alone he will allow it and *peccare tutiore*.

3. He overruled he gave no opinion it came not so low as control, but overruled as he was.

4. When all Lords there he had no power, and discretion would not be should speak but when it is not in his element.

Should he say to Lord President, you have been judge of law have no knowledge ; and contradict, he a judge at his cost, attends not of his will nor of purpose, confesseth an error in knowledge.

29 Elizabeth, Martin's case time of privilege uncertain, now students say 16 days allowed, clerk of Parliament saith no, therefore not to be intended to have so great knowledge as to know it, desires now upon occasion to think well of it for 25 to 8 it came in upon head of Church. 1 Elizabeth settled, it checketh Popery until Gondomar took out recusants from it ; prayeth since they have no profit to have good opinion.

Speaker to speak with his hat off that is a member, so put off to Sir H. Martin when he questioned him upon interrogatories.

Ordinary Commissioners do not imprison closely nor excommunicate and imprison simul et semel.

[May 1.] The young Lord Digby under 16 years petitions the Commons and desires to be inherited of his honour unspotted more than any other thing, and his petition saith aspersions were cast upon his father by L.D. both before the King and both Houses in Parliament, and his father petitioned Lords in Parliament shewing how the Duke had abused in his relation both the King and both the houses and desired that we to be pleased to hear him to avoid the aspersions else to clear his honour of those imputations laid upon him upon record, and he annexed the copy of the articles his father did present in the Lords' house against the Duke ut sequitur.

1. That Duke conspired with Gondomar to carry the Prince now King into Spain to be perverted in religion and instructed in their religion.

Porter acquainted with it and messages delivered by Porter for a ground of that matter, and upon Porter his return leave gotten for the Prince to come yet plotted and purposed by Duke before.

3. That Duke possessed Spain with his intention of their religion yea so far concurred as to adore their sacrament and came not to our prayers there and caused Spanish to propose worse conditions than before for matter of religion.

4th. That Duke often moved King James to write to the Pope and a letter drawn which he so opposed that the Duke obtained it not while Bristoe here. Duke after procured letter to Pope writing therein *Sanctissime Pater*. Pope sent a Bull to him Duke to procure him to proceed to convert the Prince.

6. He discontented Spain so in his course that Spain broke off the match in dislike of him for his aims not obtained was the cause of breach.

7. He made use of Prince's letters to his own ends and by counsel.

8. That King abused both houses in every particular of his narration which he will prove.

6. In procuring favours from Spain bestowed by Duke on base persons for his lusts' satisfaction.

10. He being solely sent Ambassador did leave such scandal behind him ; he cause of palatinate not restored.

11. He wronged Bristoe in these aspersions.

12. That he Earl Bristoe revealed all this to the King James who assured to hear him and said he would hear him, he sent a little before his death when he being perplexed by the Duke died, being much pressed with the Duke his miscarriage towards him.

[May 2.] Sir D. Diggs reports the evils, two, diminution of honour and strength, stoppage of trade.

Causes next resolved.

1. Seas not guarded since treaty.
2. Plurality of offices.
3. Honours sold.
4. Honours of men not deserving.
5. Exhausting and intercepting King's Revenue.
6. Selling Judicature places.
7. Ships to Rochell sent [against] our religion.
8. East Indies merchant oppressed $10^{m}l.$ extorted.

9. *St. Peter* of Newhaven stayed whereby a general embargo.

10. Consideration of the King's sickness, physic and plaisters Duke applied without physicians assent.

Find body 4 parts.

1. Offices consist of many parts in him and others, buying Admiral-Wardenry neglect abuses 5 blemishes first extorting Indies, delivering ships, practising against Rochell.

2. Honours sale. King's loss by it.

3. Intercepting and exhausting with particulars.

4. The King's death.

Drawn into articles by the lawyers of the 12 offices proof or to look it by calendar as every particular is suited with his proof.

1. Duke's offices having been exercised by several persons, and every one requiring an able man he young ambitiously got them, excluded deservers of hope.

Admiralty bought against statutes for justice, castles or fortresses, he adjudged disabled to hold it. Duke gave for the office and surrender 3000l. to Admiral, and an annuity of 1000l. per annum for his life, whereupon Duke got them for life 28 January, 16 James. These do concern justice, and he useth them against the law.

Wardenry of Cinque Ports and constable of Dover.

Duke paid 1000l. to Lord Zouch and 500l. per annum, he surrendered to King, and Duke obtained them, 6 December, 22 James. These concern justice and fortresses.

Treasurership, December, 18 James, procured by him to Lord Manderville, for which he received 20000l.

Master of Wards to Cranfield, for which he is since by him appointed, had 6000l.

East Indies ships warlike to be nourished. Duke by colour of Parliament abusing the house hearing of [Ormons ?] good success, moved Lords whether he might stay, agreed, he might, when petitioned, he denied stay by him, but offered to move for them, yet gave leave after preserved in Admiralty to bring in $15^{m}l.$ after petitioned Duke, protest no release till he agreed. 23 of March they considering their loss agreed to give him the 10^{m}. for his false pretence of rights.

Narrow seas not guarded, Duke ought to endeavour to supply wants from Lords and King. Duke for 2 years last hath neglected his duty and broken trust whereby the strength decayed, seas infested by pirate and the dominion like to be lost.

Peter of Newhaven laden with $40^{m}l.$ in amity with King taken by his extraordinary commission upon pretence of Spain; and cochineal, gold jewels worth $20^{m}l.$ taken out delivered by Duke to Marsh though ship and goods ordered to be delivered and so decreed except hides ginger &c. yet Duke did detained the things to his use, and after unjustly caused the ship to be detained.

Ships as fortresses to be kept no man to be dispossessed of his property in his goods. Duke as Admiral did procure the Vanguard with all furniture to be sent into France, and with menaces caused 6 merchants with her to be delivered to the French King contrary to his office.

Against Rochell he contrary to King's zeal knowing them to be employed against Rochell our religion, and so used since, contrary to King's purpose yet intimated they were not nor should be so employed at Oxford contrary to King's purpose and abuse of both houses.

2. Compulsion to buy honour whereas honours due to virtue he perverted it and enforced Robert Rich to buy honour against his will.

Procuring honours to kindred mother brothers and allies by him whereby noble barons prejudiced and King disabled by their grants and pensions.

3. Intercepting and exhausting King's revenue; he not content what had got 14 James procured 700[l] old rent, 16 James 120[l] old rent to have reprisal of bailiffs fees &c. evil precedent; after he surrendered 700[l] per annum and got other lands in lieu, and tallies struck for money paid never received but by him.

Disbursed King's monies besides all his rewards got, Privy Seals for allowance of payments and releases. Got like monies for Navy contrary to Exchequer Order, and his estate so mixed with King's as not discernable. Got releases of his receipts for his honour's maintenance.

14 June 14 James Beckelsone 700*l*. And then the Schedule was read reciting the particulars; his endeavour to get the prizes to Marsh's hands.

To Sir Anth. Ashley for marrying his cousin a blank.

4. The King's physic: where physicians to be sworn, King's person so sacred as none to minister otherwise. His physicians upon consultation nothing to be done but by general advice and commanded a restraint before fit. Duke contrary his duty and these, caused certain plasters to be prepared and drink to be ministered, notwithstanding it had evil effects and that physicians refused until removed, he when King in declination made them be applied and given, whereupon great distempers and evil symptoms appeared, and physicians did after advise Duke to do so no more, which is by us resolved a transcendent presumption of dangerous consequence.

Cary of countess of Middlesex and [Hertford].

The officer of conference said that the 6000[l] was disbursed.

Sir Robert Howard heard and believed that Berkshire was to have 5000[l] or 15[m]. out of Brayden for Master of the Horse.

Sir Robert Pie saith 3000[l] of Duke's monies paid to Lord Admiral about the time.

Sir William Russell: that 5000*l*. for navy was reimbursed by Treasurers to Duke, employed upon navy 3[m]. paid about villany.

He had a commission to take prizes adjudged to dispose by Duke's command now a new commission in purpose at King's dispose.

Sir John Epsley: a commission to how St. Peter (?) have to sell the prizes and bring to Exchequer before upon necessity sold 800[l]. to pay labour.

Sir William Howard.

Sir William Munson: that upon resignation of the Admiralty he was offered privy seal had Mowbray annexed, received the 3000[l].

Sir Robert Pie had the 6000[l]. again and 120[m l]. more when he made Treasurer.

Lord Cary said that Middlesex told him when he Master of Requests agreed this in effect by Falkland.

Chancellor Exchequer moves after orders of transmission to have the subsidy proceed to passing for until passed as law cannot have credit, ordered to-morrow morning to be done.

[May 3.] 8 of the 12 each assisted with two to deliver the Duke's charge; 2 to prologue and epilogue; six to the parts.

The eight, Diggs Eliott Earle Pim Selden Whitby Wandesford Herbert; each one two assistants. The assistants to enable them with reasons, precedents to speak, but not to speak; the 24 to agree how to distribute the business amongst them.

Litleton reports resolves; the increase by a subsidy to be paid the last of July 1527.

So resolved *nullo contradicente* in house.

Sir Diggs desires from committee 12 to know whether they shall proceed with more, to enquire of new, and proceed with what hath some proof of.

Speaker accords.

Chancellor Exchequer from King expects an end of inquisition and that Commonwealth be no more hindered nor his honour in suspense, but to be presented.

Eliott: to preserve our liberty not lay them by, but to have liberty still to present more.

Diggs presents preamble and conclusion last read we by protestation saving liberty to add, and reply, and to offer proof; pray Duke to be put to answer and such proceeding examination may be had of every of them as to law and justice.

The preamble shows how the Commons by their Bill declares against the Duke of Buckingham with all his titles misdemeanours misprisions offences and [crimes] hereafter following and him do thereof accuse.

Sir Ed. Sands thinks not necessary both to plead it verbally and deliver it in articles too, for so was done in Middlesex case.

Diggs intended both, and to enforce them with proofs and precedents.

In Sir Robert Howard's case resolved that the proceedings in the High Commission against him within the sixteen days of the day of prorogation, notwithstanding the proclamation for further prorogation shall be all annihilated and all that ensued thereupon void.

But after long debate resolved not to write to the High Commissioners, because most Lords, to annihilate them, both because it is against our dignity to entreat and not prevail, so likewise not to command because we cannot enforce.

And though moved that there being a sufficient number of commoners Commissioners to keep a court and to annihilate the proceedings, yet they being opposed by the Lords the greater; therefore that way also shunned.

But the commoners Commissioners being brought in and reprehended were admonished to see it done and at expectation; if not then to join to Lords since but one body and the wrong to our privilege equal.

In this case was cited the case of two knights Sir William Pope and Sir Marshall in chancery, where a decree being given for money promised upon sale of honours was by order of this house sent to Lord Keeper by Sir Edward Sackville now Lord of Dorset to be taken off the file, but our order neglected and nothing done upon it.

For if any Court of Westminster break our privilege because they are members of the Lords' house it seems we have no remedy but to complain to the Lords.

[May 4.] Sir Thomas Hartop Sheriff of Leicestershire for offering an arrest upon a commission of rebellion to Sir H. Hasting being in election for Knight of Shire, though he elected yet brought to bend on his knees and upon submission ordered to pay charges, and discharged.

Moved by Drake, Sir James Parrett to retract pensions, disafforest, to take recusants' lands to supply King.

Sir George More: a commission was 7 years since for this, where these and many more are inquired of; it was a summer's work.

Bish moves the words in and a message to the King to ask.

Ordered a Committee to draw a remonstrance to King for rectifying his revenue upon these grounds to-morrow Exchequer Chamber.

Sir John How then moves to consider since in suspense whether Duke cause of evils in religion.

Corrington to note it if he adored in Spain as in articles alleged; to hear witnesses.

Sir L. Dives names Everard as a witness.

Sir Robert Pie notes how he hated by Papists; infers that this a practice of Papists, he observes the current of those that 18 James went one away now go another way. Dislikes this; supplemental proof is with Lords, let them there try it for their lives.

Vice Chamberlain: unless this zeal turns into fire, motion turns sometimes into commotion, he doth desire preventive care; who may not put off his hat when sacrament came by, as he did, Lord Admiral of old did, he hated because that this match affects not papacy, so Spain hates because he served not them, Olivares hates because he suffered not Prince to be converted; he joined in articles against Armenian most freely under his hand.

Kirton thinks he hath so carried that he may be hated of both Protestant and Papist; desires the notice taken of young Digby's petition in it, never had one so charged stood before King and to tarry in Parliament, desires to go to Lords to have him removed.

Wandesford enforceth if it be but complaint less matter, yet he Ambassador representing King to adore mass, in such matter of treason to be sent for.

Sir John Epsley shows how King of Spain played tricks and kneeled never before to draw in our King, he did not nor Duke but Sir John did, Duke knocked him on head to rise, and did call him great ass.

Speaker enforceth it as a charge directly in the petition, not upon fame, but direct, and desireth direction.

Eliott mentioneth the treason charged on Duke by Bristoe in Lords' house fit to be committed as in felony not allowed; hears this not prosecuted, wonders at his power, England Ireland Scotland elsewhere this affrights, he to stand uncommitted, moves if Lords have not done their duties we to desire it of the Lords.

Petition to King considering his charge our greatest supply, conceive best to maintain it to strengthen his revenue to the ease of the Commons as he desires, wherein offers our service which we hope to shew to his honour and profit.

[May 5.] The Wire Drawers counsel heard in the house urged against Bill of Apparel that it was profitable to King's Commonwealth, to have the trade, for they give 3*d.* the ounce for bullion where the Tower for Mint gives but ½*d.* which occasioneth much custom, and bullion to come in; they also shew how of 1*l.* they make 3*l.* how our money is now unprofitable to convert, that all that is worn leaves still a third part after the wearing.

A committee to be to pen a preamble to subsidy because increased from 32 Elizabeth first two unto 4 and 8 fifteens 43 Elizabeth, more King James time, now in more haste than ever.

Hoby urged out of King's message nothing to be done until Duke transmitted.

Sir Benjamin Rudyard not to suspect King to take money and refuse justice, some think King cannot govern humour when needs press, he thinks freeness better th'other humour for Italy.

Salt Salt (*sic*) agreed for the patent.

The order read not to come in until grievance be answered 27 March then the other order read for the last subsidy.

Chancellor Exchequer desires good reason why bill subsidy not to be brought in, none so near as we to King, speaks with passion, before he speak what King commanded, and until find them faulty desires to think they speak with equal affection.

King desired if out of jealousy we delay the subsidy he take it as neglect of his affairs and his person.

His former message mistaken, bill of subsidy to come in last.

Wilde moves after grievances by Whitby to be presented after Duke thinks toucheth on liberty.

Chancellor Duchy privileges gained by King's request.

Chancellor desires committee for preamble as suiting King's ends; have not we our own ends in it.

Carnell: we come only to give subsidies; wisheth his treasure may be as Queen Elizabeth not to be on suddens but out of providence before need. So 18 James subsidies granted; hope to sit, but all dissolved; so shows all failure of promises on states part, therefore first purge corruptions, then give, therefore prays no bill in till order be performed and grievance answered.

Wandesford: to hold our power, agree to committee but not to cross any way first order, no jealousies to be talked of when we delay but proceed parliamentarily, hopes all so cleared no putting off again give King a committee ourselves the time.

Vice Chamberlain: this motion begun in March now May, question not whether give but to set pen: *qui egrotant animo dolorem non sentiunt*, grievance sick of, see not the sword upon us, prejudice to report, soldiers mutineers, time passed friends despair because intend only, the fear of Carnell hinderance, grievances redressed by justice and grace from King's good heart but great hurt, will give both, sell neither, if we proceed thus committee may do what will but wher this published is it not abuse.

Desires to accommodate and proceed to both glad upon petition of estate will be sufficient; shall we be talking of grievance until enemy come upon us, desires committee presently to consider our first occasion.

Eliott: interruption cause of delay not want of sense, we sick in mind feel not body, he said *animus sequitur corpus* the body grieved.

He answers King great hurt we contract not the other great hurt they intend, desires King know we confident on him, desires him so of us; moves Tuesday Committee.

Savile Exchequer Chamber Tuesday there.

18 James Sir Robert Flood Sir H. Britton cast out as a projector so moved for Mr. Moore for his monopoly of the Salt patent.

[May 6.] Order from King James to take off the file proceedings in High Commission against Bishop of Bangor.

D. Diggs: introduction and preamble.

Herbert: plurality, buying of offices.

Selden: narrow seas, *Peter* stayed.

Glanvile: Rochell ships, East Indies, extortion.

Honour judicature Whitby.

Honours; maintenance of King's revenue portions and consumption of physic; Wandesford.

Conclusion, recapitulating, Eliott.

Speaker none to except but poundage.

Commons declare and accuse Duke of misdemeanours misprisions offences and crimes.

Chancellor Duchy asketh upon what ground we go by bill in this form unprecedented of late.

Selden: of late we accused by word St. Albans and Middlesex ancient words and writing; 50 E. 3, 28 H. 6. 10 R. 2. examples of both. 50 E. 3. Adam de Burie accused by Long; bill hereunto annexed so 28 H. 6.

Allowed by question the bill of preamble to go.

2. Plurality of offices procured by him by exorbitant ambition to discouragement of others; allowed.

3. Who buy offices direct or indirect &c. he disabled. The Duke bought Admiralty and surrender of it to intent to obtain it and got amity of King, and he occupied them ever since contrary statutes; allowed.

4. Cinque Ports in like sort allowed.

5. Where Duke ought to have kept seas and endeavoured to get supply from King and Lords he neglected trust, whereby trade decayed, infested with pirates.

Sir Robert Maunsell saith narrow seas is fro Calis to Beachy Head, and therein no haven, meant off sea coasts.

6. *Peter* of Newhaven, Mellein Master, Duke retained gold pearl to his use and stayed ship to public violation of justice.

Vice Chamberlain's letter sent into the house that they wonder we so follow private quarrels that a Brussel's recital in *St. Peter* transcends the house his sense, for meant only the illegal stay.

1. Makes *Peter* seised first by pretence of Spanish.

2. We give scandal to Governor of Newhaven, *scandalum datum et acceptum*, desires to proceed, this to be recommitted.

Eliot wonders that any private man should say that it is against sense of the house, which is the act formerly, thinks the exception unnecessary and recommitment necessary.

Chancellor Exchequer desires forbearance humbly of sharp reprehension.

Pim affirms they [objected] parliamentarily and desires his motion may be effected.

7. East India Company: Duke abused Lords in Parliament, extorted 10^{m}*l.* which he by his minister from February agitated, in March twelvemonth moved Lords, 5 March said he no occasion of stay, desired their reasons yet gave leave to fall down to Tilbury, he procured suit for 15^{m}*l.* not released until he satisfied in his false pretence.

Glanvile conceives we abused in our desire of stay by answer Duke had stayed it before.

Recommitted as *St. Peter* was.

8. Rochell ships delivered and law of property of the merchants' ships taken: allowed.

9. The employment of them against religion contrary to King's intention and abused both houses by intimation and violating the treaty.

10. Perverted old way; made Roberts purchase his Lordship of Truro by threatening.

Glanvile moves that Lord Roberts may have a cause not to be dishonoured because compulsion.

Sir Robert Pie and Sir William Strowde; that he did offer 20,000*l.* for it before and was denied by Duke.

11. Lord Treasurer and Master of Wards, sold, Duke procured.

12. Honouring his kindred who on King's revenues maintain to prejudice Barons by their [victuals ?]; allowed.

13. Intercepting and exhausting King's revenue, not satisfied with what King gave, procured a grant of mandamus 32^{m}*l*; got monies for

victualling navy whereof King can expect no account being out of Exchequer way, addeth a schedule of other particulars 14 Jan. 14 James 700*l.* rent.

1623—Whaddun -	-	51	3[s]
Hartington	-	700	[l]
14 James—Combe, &c.	-	114	[l]
Bisley Gloucester	-	53	
Timber wood -	-	80	
Slate - -	-	500	[l]
One Rent -	-	56	
Leystone -	-	114	
	11981	4	

Pensions paid by King 2000[l]. for him, his endeavour for prizes 60[m] Middlesex fine 20[m].

Exchange with York House	-	140[l]
1622 -	-	160[l]
Earl Norris	-	800[l] / 1636
1200[l] -	-	4000[l]
995[l] -	-	1860[l]
9850[l] -	-	1000
600000[l] -	-	1906[l]
for navy -	-	476
20[ml] -	-	3284
pensions 2[ml]	-	30000[l]
Ireland 7[ml]	-	
per annum -	-	2500

Middlesex got by kindred marriage 120[m]*l.* To Sir E. Villars 3,000*l.* Pertock a pension of 1,000*l.* by year.

14. King James his physic ministered presumptuously and the particular supposition of the 2 witnesses recited.

Epilogue; Duke to be put to answer and according to law and justice to proceed.

To meet afternoon at the committee and to vote all as well committed as these alluded.

Monday 7 [*sic* 8?] May.

Vice Chamberlain reports King's answer.

That King content that we consider his revenue; desires committee not great lest his weakness be discovered, his officers shall attend. Desires we to set down heads and acquaint him with, and King will assent both to rectify and to augment King's revenue as we desire.

For license of ordinance transporting King his father granted it, that Lords of Council did think it no error to transport by license thinking it a popular error.

King desires us to have reasons that moved Lords; to do then what we will.

Desires Committee to send for proofs to give information.

Desires Committee for estate to be limited.

For the speedy redress of the evils the kingdom suffereth and for the King's honour the commons prefer this bill of titles and accuse the Duke.

By protest saving reply, further proof, new accusation, desires law and justice.

2 H. 6. Sir John Mortimer.

17 E. 4. Accusation before Lords against Duke of Clarence, Lords did not commit but Commons came up and requested it and he was committed to Tower.

Vice Chamberlain: they have used precipitation and we shall spend more time about it, then we have to go to conference, where we want example, must care what we leave to posterity, his saying after [learned?] in precedents.

He speaks lest Republic consisting of King, Peers, Commons be disturbed.

King gave liberty with regret, we to proceed but on what before us.

Shall we oppose him whom King hath thus declared his affection, if not forborne at King's request yet go not too far.

If Lords will not, how can we mend it, consider lest offends Lords.

Temps E. 3. Baron [Graystock] Captain of Berwick left it to Lieutenant; he adjudged to death because taken though Lieutenant died in place.

11. R. 2. R. Weston not dying in the castle hanged and drawn.

St. Peter stayed against common Law and the marine law.

Diggs in his preamble compared commons to earth the centre, judges to air that counsel them in their labours, Lords to planets, King to sun, Duke to a prodigious comet drawn out of the dross of the earth even above the planets as one said to be into the chair of Cassiopœia which prognosticates the ruin of commonwealth; said the many evils we suffered in the large circumference by many signs drawn from one point, the Duke.

Resolved Wednesday 8 o'clock to proceed with the other half of Duke's charge to committee of Lords.

Mr. Noy to the question of Duke's commitment to be desired at Lords upon notice of the commitment with the Lords, ours charging him but as misdemeanours.

2. H. 6. Sir John Mortimer committed for treason to H. 5. broke prison, made it high treason by commission indicted at York Castle, sent into Chancery, delivered in Parliament by Chancellor by King's command brought to Lords' bar by lieutenant of Tower. Indictment read before all Lords and Commons, he confessed, Commons prayed judgement, he hanged drawn and quartered set up, not committed at Commons request for there before.

Hear Digby as we hear articles.

Now whether Commons thrust in or called in office.

Informed Digby gives articles; another saith, it is treason; this is no ground for us.

Upon once reading we not fit to pray commitment for treason for we forejudge Lords.

If we pray Lords to be acquainted with it then if they give leave we may examine and proceed as the cause requireth.

Browne thinks on his carriage slighting therefore "dicere causam in vinculis," but not until his charge be given.

Wandesford: we came with jealousy that things would prove as now, gathered at Oxford where Parliament was rent in pieces he being named, though we offered to supply.

All causes meet like a centre upon him; he wonders at his confidence not his innocence, therefore we to require commitment, slight Noy's precedent, thinks the things we charged fit be in other names. King committed Somerset for felony.

If want a precedent to make this a precedent.

Treason alleged, one part proved, thinks we may justify it to the Lords, and then to leave it to God.

Chancellor Duchy fears new precedents lest end not in ourselves, if we do new, King new, Lords new, a sharp spirit hurts his cause desires moderation; we cannot require it but by taxing Lords, God [grant] our posterity curse not us as ancestors did passionately; suppose treason put against 12 of us should we presently commit our members.

Fulgoone; we sit here to make precedents, his yesterday carriage fit for commitment.

Corriton takes hold of 12 of us, this the cry of the whole land, thinks words to be added to the charge to require.

Sir G. Moore fears not new precedents for reason did guide the first, thinks justice will not allow us to commit before we examine the cause as in all cases, therefore moves stay.

5. R. 2. Complaint not treason, confessor sequestered from Court, but at 4 feasts.

11. R. 2. M. De la Porte got crown lands without consideration; he answered, Commons replied, committed before judgment to constable, after bailed.

21. R. 2. Canterbury accused of treason for executing articles, commitment desired, Lords advised.

1. R. 2. Sir John Farrar for giving ports and forts to French, though committed cleared, yet re-committed

To propose reasons to Lords whether commit or no.

Chancellor Exchequer: this request of commitment is a prejudice which ought not to be but upon certain knowledge with full authority, doubts if do.

We cannot believe him guilty yet which is the first judgment, for he hath yet a right to his fame, therefore no certain punishment upon uncertain crime, late no such precedents, last if authority either of the cause or person.

Digby's copy is but a relation, if we proceed offered the cause, therefore to leave it to Lords.

Long heard Speaker say it was felony if one give physic and the other die being no physician.

Littleton: nothing with us to commit for but misdemeanours, so all judges opinion 28 H. 6. Duke Suffolk. For things depending before Lords we may move the Lords parliamentarily.

Upon accusation of treason we may pray commitment howsoever it be, so here.

This sticks with him; here is no [appeal?] therefore cannot but go conditionally.

Fanshaw 1 Hen. 4. no appeal for treason, shall be preferred in Parliament, in time to King.

Selden: for our own accusations we may, for the other charge we ought.

29 Hen. 6. in like presentment as we.

Duke accused for conspiring with Gondomar to carry Duke [*sic*: ? Prince] to Spain to be converted in religion; this a persuading King's Subject to treason, this is treason, by 23 Elizabeth, 30 less to bring from Rome excommunication so 12 Rich. 2. adjudged in Parliament, because one procured King to write to Pope to make Ireland a kingdom, as derogatory from King.

Notice sufficient if hear but of it, but now it is a record there we may take notice of it.

They perhaps have reason not to do it on proof, we none.

2 Hen. 6., 17 Ed. 4. we desired judgment upon their record, because we affirmed indictment true supposed then we may and did then examine it.

We have sent to call for their Lords absent. 11 Rich. 2., 17 Ed. 4. whole house prayed judge upon Duke of Clarence.

For 1 Hen. 4. whether accusation there properly by appeal in Parliament.

How appeals expanded knows not, but 7 Hen. 4. many rolls of accusation there: so 17 Ed. 4. but that an Act of Parliament, all present.

Vice Chamberlain sees neither precedent nor reason to guide him, precedents on both sides, to do what just and equity; no accusation in Lords' House, this against Duke but a recrimination be it either if he committed evil consequence.

Lord Conway desired to be committed by Bristoe, refused by Lords, the times noted, precedents full of faction and destruction. Philip Commines said when God left English and fell upon themselves lost all in France.

Duke's carriage aggravates instead of compassion, let us not be carried into an evil course.

1 James. Sir H. Neville, no gallery then but as good reverence, presented 10 points, 1 of treason, for as it stood no man knew when he was safe, desired it to be no longer. Committed *ad poenam* we cannot do unheard and custodian needs not, he will not fly.

Fortescue remembers thing 1 James. Sir Francis Goodwin returned knight, a competition all business stayed till that King desired to let them both alone, Goodwin and so done.

Diggs: if these might not trouble us he wished he in the upper world.

He thinks commitment necessary; appeals of Committee outed for parting; not so in accusation, we not so but on our own grounds we may go on.

Dudley Diggs thinks him dishonoured by his confession of Cinque Ports and casting first stone he wondered, therefore cause, thought men would make him see his fault; he was struck at his presence, too much countenancing to see and hear his accusation but Middlesex, St. Albans, Norwich, all not like him though he not discouraged; he thinks it fit to be done, it is upon record not answered, therefore desires to decline; this no recrimination attorney accuseth Bristoe, no precedent prejudicial he remembers Chancellor Duchy neglect precedent now to use precedent of power when never like precedent of power.

Then not to fear confronting.

Resolved on Tuesday we sitting until three of clock that we go with a request to Lords for Duke his commitment and a committee to prepare the manner.

The house divided upon the question, 226 for commitment, 125 no, when ayes gone out noes would yield they to have honour in it, would not take it, the house within would also go out; the greater number opposed and did make a terrible contestation offering &c. and fearful to see what a great number opposed will not do, the lesser number glad to yield to what desired though Privy Council there said the greater number might fine and imprison less.

[May 11.] Thursday.

Gyles the person sent for at Balan's suit for his scandalous life, and his doctrine and notes in the margin of the Book of the Synod of Dort scaring our writers, esteeming most fables and lies.

The Commons taking into their serious consideration the manifold and apparent mischiefs and inconveniences under which this renowned kingdom suffereth, threatening danger to it, have by search of causes found that they do principally flow by the abusive carriage of the Duke of Buckingham, whereof he hath been now impeached by us before you, besides an accusation by a Peer before you of treason as we hear; therefore they with one voice declare, holding it dangerous for present and future that a man of his eminence so accused should hold such strength and sit as Peer to know the counsels; wherefore thought it duty as by law and reason to commend their unanimous consent, as to desire that they will commit the Duke his person to safe keeping.

Lords returned answer by Nathaniel Rich who carried up the message that they would return answer by their own messengers and consider of it in due time.

Then were Sir Dudley Diggs who made the prelogue or preamble, and Sir John Eliott who made the epilogue, sent for by two messengers; the servant told them that two messengers were come for them privately, and they did go out and were carried to the Tower, supposed for their presumptuous carriage or aggravation and amplification of things &c.

All at silence till restored safe, they cleared by protestation.

[May 12.] Vice Chamberlain when we in silence desires to continue it till done, notes Pim to have moved well to proceed wisely to stay the cry of rising, he riseth to speak to waken the silence, he thinks it time to get off the rock we fallen upon.

Tells his story; he at sea out of way fell on divers sands; at length stuck; all amaze, one 'stood up to see which way we came on, by the compass went same way back.

He now a passenger not the pilot desires to look how we came on, and so to go off we had like [tortoises ?] before, never stuck until now; desires some to think how we came on, in missing our course, former Parliaments have done it and rectified themselves, if he fell on particulars desires the house not to apply it to the house.

Found in former Parliaments the silencer parrot the wisest so it be not in opinionality as now; we came on to the rock by an order to give them leave to enforce their matter at the conference, proved a meeting, but what did enforce matter we bound to maintain by six; the matter went within compass except a slip but for preface and conclusion against a man; he saying he yet *rectus in curia* cried no; by many offered to stay if we weary; if not *rectus* not condemned: they called him still "this man, this man" prologue and epilogue still touched on him "this man, this man." Sir F. Bacon used to introduce his matter by poetry and history a man most elegant though likened to a meteor, yet was . . over King, every one bound to find causes of evils and remedies, evil they taken away he hears for scandal in words taken by King touching the point of King's death as though it were hastened prologue said by [means used]; he would therein forbear to speak further, in regard of the King's honour that is now living. King's reason to be sensible, for strangers in Court believe it was said; this depends of true or false information.

Epilogue; he heard never the like in Parliament but when a criminal at law for treason, speaks not out of offence given him by his sharp speech, for he had patience.

He grieved to hear him dishonour himself; dishonour himself and the cause as he protested, this not in his charge, but he went against the sense of the house, a point he studied much, made it his child. As the ship *St. Peter* went to Rochell they say restored but I know it not, he said it by obedience; he was informed in house and private, what needed he such voluntary ignorance to enforce in the plaster as though *aliquid latet quod non patet*, left evil, believe this not directed, but the house declared that there was no evil intent. Observes many other points but will not be an advocate against him; his own pleading too much doth reflect upon him.

The evil and the cause; now to remedy. All lives fortunes and honours here embarked, if any do to endanger ship though a cockboat call him off, we danger of tempest from abroad, need therefore to care to save it,

without alteration, he hath heard new counsels (meaning from King) brought hither.

Knows not whither it may reach, but while we do worthily *will not; all other monarchies changed by new counsels, the medium betwixt prerogative and tumultuary licence, this way to preserve it. We here in happiness look like men, in other nations like ghosts in canvas and wood. Showed what he said, how sent out in their language*, given to Ambassador.

This speech exceedingly disliked though I see not the cause somebody much to blame for it.

We began in this business in a great committee, now in great extremity; therefore desires a great committee to consider and to reason pro and con.

Sir Benjamin Rudyard conscious we doubtful King he heard one word spoken, would no more.

Kirton thinks Vice Chamberlain's word subject to as great interpretation: they imprisoned with them; desires he may set down their charge, that we at committee to consider whether the house did authorize them.

Committee commends their learning and knowledge and beliefs.

N. Rich thinks we should shew no opinion; glad to hear it is no worse from him; far from us to justify what not in charge. No man here but grieves to see our liberty suffer as now in high measure as ever in men's memory.

First therefore to desire solely to procure for our liberty, then to have a grand committee to do it.

Sir Edward Spencer: such words aid no plots; if those words were said by Vice Chamberlain that the King if he should not be sensible of something he were not worthy of his crown he desired to explain.

He explaineth he delivered nothing by command; he told what he conceived cause, because he did name no man, the King said if he should not be sensible of his father's death he were not worthy of his crown, for so the King said.

Rouse approveth the interpretation.

Resolved by question to proceed in no other business until righted in our liberties.

Resolved by question to have great committee to consider how to do it.

Moved to have key up at committee.

Chancellor Exchequer moves against that, as a fundamental law of house, though once done at this Parliament,

Ordered to have the key, because when it is disliked many great persons draw with their money (?).

Wandesford; glad too to see how advisedly we proceed; hath heard a member taken out of Parliament; two, for they know not what, never heard.

Root of all misinformation if we look back: easy to see cause, desires remonstrance; desires to move King to write that Duke the misinformer and to have our liberties home.

Sir John Saville served in 3 Princes times; he committed out of the house 3 weeks, heard nothing; he asked of Lords why served not for the delay. He asked the cause; sent back to go to Queen.

Lord Knevet moved for him as now to have a petition to Queen to know cause; house answered would not conclude privilege broken, house petitioned to know the cause; delivered, no cause assigned.

Wisheth a mannerly remonstrance to ground nothing of Vice Chamberlain.

Sir Thomas Hoby; hear that said he was committed by council before Parliament sat, but he will in modesty conceal the cause.

Finds the whole sense of the house grieved; if for offence at conference we or Lords should have taken it and called answer, but sent for without cause known unprecedented but to find no cause.

Long: 2 Hen. 4. Commons shewed no person committed but for treason and felony, and [assented] and that in King's presence, he thinks Duke always cause. Hears they their papers and lodgings ransacked: he in his opinion condemned, hopes none so impudent as to testify otherwise than here: desires all to be restored.

Sir John Savile was taken upon the door of the house 10 days after Parliament began.

Noy if committed for things foreign we satisfied if by our command to justify, if exceed to condemn.

If we charge Duke if untrue dishonour to us.

Likes no precedents until cause known; reason the best precedent.

Sir Richard Hutton.

Newberie: King to give acoount to God, not to us, and cause, if prerogative and laws clash ruin of kingdom: laws here violated; desires to have restitution and to punish them, else we all to go by them, since they by our command.

Remonstrance ordered to be made by question for the imprisonment of 2 members, and to show how good purposes and proceeding we had and how interrupted, and how we intend to proceed to his honour.

[May 13.] Saturday.

Sir B. Rudyard: King's honour to be most dear to us we therefore shunned aspersion of King's Government, much less his honour, fame will by growing spread such reports all over. *Quod recipitur est secundum modum recipientis.* We to bring to punishment him that spake it or him that poisoned it, now we all engaged in it.

Vice Chamberlain desires to engage ourselves with judgment and discretion; he finds *modum recipientis* spoken here carried with contrary instruction; not one man informed King of this but four or five, which King yesterday informed him of again, if they were mistaken he thinks more might be, he doth think they were mistaken. Desires to fall on the information, because a tickle point; lets know for loss of time now spent, that as yesterday broke silence, and yesterday satisfied what was spoken; asked his authority for speech had but truth at supper he asked King cause of offence at D. Diggs in particular, he desired to put it in writing; King said no, it was the sense of divers, he said to King how tender we, that he not worthy to live that spoke them or commended: King said house did take it right, thinks house commended not, he took like course therefore as his predecessor did in like case. Thought D. D[igges] used it as a paraphrase of the text far from the text and so this he said by explanation.

Kirton: he hath well acquitted himself before we took him for the author; if they did it by our command, we guilty, to desire King to have agents punished, for thinks it treason in highest degree to set this division 'twixt King and people.

Sir Nathaniel Rich thinks him as a traitor that doth not endeavour to vindicate honour of King and kingdom which this prodigious traitor hath raised: shall neither Commons nor Lords take notice, and yet it came to King, therefore to . . . . he spoke not to say this nor to this effect, nor so commanded by us, nor we had it not.

Littleton stood by and on his life said no such thing, and spoke to King's honour, said my Lords the Commons commended that in all

they have not found anything that reflected on King's honour that dead is, or is now.

Sir F. Steward, who ever informed are traitors in heart, which he will prove.

Resolved by question that every one shall protest before God that he never counselled that D. Diggs should.

2. That he heard him not speak these words.

3. That he believeth not that he spoke them.

4. That he did not affirm he spoke the words or to that effect.

This was done and who sick gone unto, and so the house having cleared itself and the members of those speeches by Sir D. Diggs, notice was taken of it at Court by the King and Council and Sir D. Diggs sent out of the Tower without any petition, and came into the house the next day being Tuesday; there gave thanks to the house, shewed the King's grace to him, and his content; desired to proceed and petition for Eliot which he thought would do, and then the Chancellor of Exchequer delivered a message from King how King satisfied was cleared, loth to infringe privileges, yet Eliot detained for matters extrajudicial also. That word after desired to be explained, but nothing done nor agreed to be done until privileges righted.

15. May. Heads for Conference.

How head of impeachment of Duke's speeches delivered.

2. How D. Diggs committed for words supposed spoke there by command.

3. How informed by D. Carleton by leave from the King that the words were proved.

4. That King informed by 4 or 5 concerned a malicious and wilful misinformation.

Reasons.

1. For that he had contrary order.

2. For that the words were contrary.

3. If spoken should be observed by Lords and us; if it should; so this misinformation reflected on King as aspersion; the which we grieve to hear, abhor to think.

To show how breaks privilege by commitment; discouragement makes division 'twixt King, noble and commons. If this not discovered, occasioneth the like colour of truth also: show how we cleared, that if the Lords would have apprehended and controlled to remember West, or 2 Rich. 2. 303. 2. Rich. 2. *vel* 2. Philip and Mary of those that raise sedition 'twixt Lords and Commons and the punishment.

To have punishment inflicted according to justice and their demerits.

How course may be taken by both houses for the discovery and punishment.

D. Diggs dare not speak against, where goes further then him; imprisoned was disgrace, now grace new, desires all to be left out concerning him.

Recommitted to comprehend Eliot.

Vice Chancellor expoundeth the extrajudicial to be high crimes committed against the King out of this house, so commanded to declare; desires to proceed with the business of the house which was the King's message.

Kirton: if we not satisfied in what, who can speak safe.

Sir Robert Harley: question whether we may proceed, a member thus taken.

Corrington: question also whether fit.

Sir Peter Heyman: to be informed if felony treason or peace, else we judges and to hear it.

Sir William Spencer: to take liberties in consideration else by such a colour may every man be taken and this made no house.

[Streignish, Strangeways?] moveth we to clear him of things done in the house and for the house.

Nathaniel Rich; not to clear him until accused, for he is not charged as Diggs, for he may [be] committed in Parliament time but such cause should be made known, else may concern all, to desire to know the cause.

Wandesford; just to be cleared of what he did by the command of the house, then petition for cause.

Vice Chamberlain: the evil construction abroad of what he said to break silence made him silent since. Rather judge than subject him to reprehension; concurs to clear him in all he did by command; but if he did exceed, the last day he did say somewhat not with sense but against it, and so he thinks he did; and when desired he will do it, there were points he present when King took exception, and fit to remonstrate, to crave cause, wherein King denieth him no absolutely. Times such now as a man may offend tender ears, thinks this business fit but not all the business, else we may be irremediable, desires to leave land as liberty to posterity. Temps Queen Elizabeth members taken yet privileges continue, Sir Antonie Cope, Sir H. Bromley, Sir John Savile yet house proceeded. 35 Elizabeth Attorney Woods, Morris, Sir Edward Hoby, Beal Clerk of Parliament all committed yet proceeded, and all ended happily, not petitioned; he desires to petition and also to proceed.

4 Hen. 8. Richard Strode occasion of law against all proceeding against Parliament men.

Therefore to prevent precedents now and avoid past.

Sir Hoby: not time to clear before accused, answers precedents, not for public speech in house, so as house would not petition for them; not so now. Parry was hanged drawn and quartered sitting horse, so desires remonstrance.

Sir G. Moore; happy for subjects to be free in England, honour King so preserved, differs from last, thinks we should clear him before charged notwithstanding this *nescio quid vult ista purgatio mali*, yet like speech offensively taken. To precedents; he present when all committed, cause known, no breach of liberty, motion made for change in church government, Queen prohibited by message, Cope delivered a bill after to make alteration, Mildmay said stand by a short Bill to cut off the heads of all: the laws past for which he taken.

Morris did like after commanded; so the rest, but Bromley charged for meddling in succession, so Beall, all which slipped away without notice.

Chancellor Duchy: King can do no wrong, say no wrong. He saith high crimes not to be supposed, but it is so to answer to God, if do wrong perhaps who go to him will tell no reason for state, which if we suppose then lose we our labour of conference, therefore he indifferent if rest upon this or go with remonstrance, for this entered so is no breach of privilege, therefore desires to go on with business. King might have said so an D. Diggs would nothing but truth, so not so said.

Browne: 34 Elizabeth resolved by all judges King nor Council cannot commit above 24 hours, but must assign cause if habeas corpus come.

Mason: not to commit but for felony or treason.

Sir D. D. that he used words perhaps beyond command, but if matter considerable then papers.

Vice Chamberlain: this not time to clear him, he hath no accuser, he aimed, but knew not hit off.

Sir D. Diggs cause so is cleared, his a mixed cause, partly that at conference, partly else perhaps by his papers as Sir D. Diggs, perhaps by other matter before, precedents he cited as accidents not justified.

Beall committed only for bringing subsidy roll that belonged to us not Lords to confer. Desires to on with religion; war, sickness, &c., now depending before us to go on.

[May 19.] Friday after Ascension.

Vice Chamberlain signifieth after long silence how the King sent a warrant to deliver Sir John Eliot, and he is coming.

Yet no business proceeded in until heads of conference read reciting as before the heads.

Further shows our protestation to contrary, but all as before.

Vice Chamberlain saith he expressed not himself well when he said he had had it of 4 or five, for he said it arose out of notes which King sent for four or 5, now common report coming to King he sent for notes.

For business it seems none but remonstrance and conference, he at liberty, takes away the remonstrance, if proceed desires recommitment.

Objection that upon answer can have no reply, best to be spared.

Bish charged him that he said King told by 4 or 5 as Chancellor Exchequer.

Chancellor Exchequer said King was so informed not told by 4 or 5 which makes difference; King called for notes upon evil sound, which taken with no evil sense, might be mistaken, desires to proceed.

Diggs thought unfortunate committed, now more if prosecuted, hath had such fair carriage; desires to proceed or re-committed.

[May 20.] Saturday a letter agreed to be sent by Speaker, to stay judgment against Mr. Moore until privilege examined, notwithstanding supposition of his consent.

Chancellor Exchequer showed how Sir John Eliot made a negative answer to things done without the house and extrajudicial and the King hath accepted it, note not satisfied so he was sent for to his chamber, and King gone; liberty to come hither and he came in.

Then moved some to charge him because said all from top to toe to give occasion.

Vice Chamberlain chargeth not, expecteth thanks, commands what house directed, what more disliked; conference first divided concerning an impeachment of a great Peer of the realm, the words they used of respect wounded the person, disrespect the cause; commission was to amplify and to aggravate his part, his was to contain him within the compass of his chapter and recapitulation, but if anything new without his charge.

1. Began with a character of Duke his mind only bad; compared to a beast "stellio stellionatus"; so changeable as none could tell what to make of it.

2. Contrary to sense of the house in doubting the restitution of ships went to Rochell, which he was certained of by letters, a needless unacknowledgment proceeding out of obedience as he conceived he related.

3. This word of, "this man," this man offended many as a great indignity to any man in all countries.

4. Historical comparisons as parallels 2: the one of Sejanus, the other Bishop of Ely, *audax superbus adulator;* of *venena venefica* would not speak. That of Sejanus was further applied to top of Government perhaps than he meant.

5. The greatest sharpness that above all injuries further meaning King's physic and would not speak; doubted to think cut it off with words of Cicero as though had not words enough to express it. Speaking of the last charge as though somewhat more therein covered that were not discovered. So desires he may clear himself for he accuseth not.

Sir John Eliot excuseth his not coming by ignorance of the favour bestowed on [him] till near eleven, or heard of discharge yesterday. He confesseth the obligation to Vice Chamberlain to give him occasion to discharge himself. The charge; many particulars concern his fitness or unfitness; to serve here dearer than life; asketh time to answer them particularly. Speaker proposeth them particularly.

He answereth and showed his method that he did not exceed; to avoid tautology he changed the names, as ambition for offices. This part was in English, collusion *dolus malus* and he found this short but expressed it by a metaphor of *stellionatus* from a beast of divers colours, thereby he did express the art to merchants entrapping at Dieppe.

2. His colouring to the King the ships to go another way.

3. The abuse of Parliament by disguise possessing us after he knew ships were delivered otherwise.

2. His profession of obedience, he will therein be neither short nor over, desires no favour not to of &c. that he said he did not know the ships delivered though he heard it for so he said in the house, and so yet.

3. "This man, this man" he speaks not as some by book, he confesseth by contraction, if of Alexander *ille ipse;* to call him a man thinks no offence, thinks him no good man.

4. For Sejanus and the intimation that there was something for the Lords to go further.

Tells what he meant by Ely, who was only named 4 Rich. where are many charges: he took what fit, luxurious, misemploying of King's revenue, conferring honours of obscure men, boldness paralleling it now to this time when King's order contradicted *per totam insulam publice proclamat pereat quum omnes opprimatur quem omnes opponunt* Sejanus in effect *Stellionatus* that he did *clientes honoribus et provinciis adornare* how he was *laborum imperatorum socius* there used *venenas* and *veneficas*, for there comes in his lust to Livia his poisoning of Drusus; those he excluded as impertinent; if he apply it not, he meant it not; let not their interpretation be his fault. Now many of those books bought since, more than within a twelvemonth before.

5. Last; for intimation of *aliquid latet*,—

Interrupted by Wandesford and required to show how he meant these examples; nothing further than this person not to any greater which he did accordingly and said for he sacrifice himself for King so soon as any.

Gives words of 5th charge so near as upon having used corruption, extortion, oppression, &c. and after wonder how could subsist being so proved, being dangerous in state so many faults, not without art, honours of kindred to support him and alliance, then set on King's revenue, then this later as a boldness more comparing it to fire; and not content with injuries of justice, honour, state, but attempts person of King in such a sort as fears to speak, doubts to think, least as Cicero use *gravere quem res exiget vel leviare quem causa postulat;* and left it to the Lords' consideration.

Two things more he observed unanswered, his manner and matter. 1. Too much vigour; what his nature not his fault, seldom felt passion, though his love may covet it. 2. Though he was to be contained in his

rude epilogue, if any particulars be without he will answer, but he knows none but passages, as his exclusion.

Resolved by question he exceeded not his commission given by the house at conference.

So for Sir D. Diggs for all, being before but one point.

Sir Robert Harlow desires hereafter no aggravation to be admitted hereafter, but first to give in heads in the house.

This denied, lest might seem to disallow what was done.

[May 22.] Mr. Pim moved for a bill, not remonstrance, but the committee both. He ; this will do no good, for that liberty of speech we have, and the example of deliverance better then that of imprisonment, but the sufferance was in King James time said Rich and Queen Elizabeth's time when we made remonstrance, and answer and reply, letters, protestation and dissolution, freedom of speech, person, information, therefore to avoid dispute desires a Bill. Temps. H. 8 produced Act of Parliament lost not got by debate.

Wandesford for Bill and to proceed to business.

Glanville : resolved 18 James we no power but to fine and imprison. Lords to judge, then was a bill proposed and agreed upon.

Ordered a committee to consider whether a remonstrance or Bill, protestation or all, and to prepare it.

Afternoon Star Chamber.

Sir F. Foljambe brings in a letter out of Yorkshire, read because brought by member of house before the speaker read it. Sir John Savile's letter copied to John Harrison, D. Foxcroft, Sir Thomas Medcalfe, &c. He gives account of Parliament concerning their [charter ?] ; he after moved the inconveniences in setting down the trade being many and the mischief if merchants debarred of free trade.

They so resolutely bent and eager in pursuit of a great man that they will hazard the state of Commonwealth as he fears rather than St..... He spoke of 30m. men meant not short; desires to use care and expedition to maintain his credit.

Sir John desires who offers copy to prove it, if this be a true copy desires to have his hand and head struck off for he deserves no less.

Foljambe hath order for witnesses to prove it.

Pim moved that he should clear if he spoke to that effect.

Sir John denieth that any can be showed, and he denieth his writing; he subscribing or directing any such clause.

He in the end denied to answer by order of house and it was allowed.

Glanvile : his judgment of himself is like to be true by his consent if it be true.

Ordered to withdraw and to come in upon suit of the wronged gentlemen and to acknowledge an error in his place which he did.

Mr. Whitby to-morrow to report the grievances.

Wandesford reporteth the humour that Sir W. S. [?]

Chancellor Exchequer moves to proceed on King's revenue and to bring in preamble of subsidy.

Wednesday morn for revenue.

Thursday the naval war.

All general committees to proceed.

Tonnage and poundage Wednesday afternoon.

[May 24.] Wednesday—Whitby reports grievances formerly not answered or not well, and new ones.

1. Impositions : presented 7 James that by law none can be imposed but by Parliament, show impositions and desired to lie all down, not answered but now added.

Resolved by question to be presented as great grievance.

3. James—the license of wines enhancing price by dispensation of antiquated laws by subject. King did answer after that patent ended no more granted, patent now ended, yet the license kept on foot by this general dispensation: desires to have the law repealed. Resolved to be presented as grievance.

Ferdinando Gorges' patent, 21 James, to restrain the free fishing in America, his answer short; because they were to give satisfaction for wood desire liberty for wood at pleasure, not within a quarter of a mile of the planters' habitation or fishing.

4. That the begging briefs, 21 James, presented to be totally prohibited: answered none to be but upon certificate in sessions and that county one: this is not observed as by precedent for a bridge at Westminster.

Resolved to be represented.

5. Sir John Meldrum's patent at Winterton Ness exacting above proportion fit for a light house at Winterton Ness, from 6*d.* to 3*s.* 4*d.* extorted and enforced. Answered to refer it to committee of both houses to proportion it, first thought to pray a conference yet resolved to represent it because it is judged by us properly.

6. New surveyorship of coals erected; 7*s.* 6*d.* a chaldron paid for transport, 12*d.* for import within kingdom and to bring contents to discharge; bonds entered for so doing, yet cockets denied to discharge their bonds until 4*d.* a chaldron paid to Surveyor, prays to have the bonds discharged which were extended for the projectors benefit, being 1200 bonds.

Resolved to petition to have the 1200 bonds discharged.

Sir Andrew Boyde and Collum the projectors and prosecutor sent for to the house.

7. Merchant Adventurers' patent answered; they satisfied and dyed and dressed at liberty, yet the imprest of 7*s.* 6*d.* a cloth continueth; abated to half and to cease in August 1627.

To petition to lay down the imposition totally.

8. Where States imposed 32*s.* of English cloth as consumption money to our hindrance, and the [weighing ?] to be brought to one place drawn now to 28.

To desire King to now move for help while they need.

9. Fees of Customers, exacting in some case equal to custom: desires now to be reformed, for worse than before, by allowance to take fees.

10. Merchants having dispensation for 30^{m}. cloths desired to have 20^{m}. more: this not answered. Cumberland his patent expires this May—now to repetition.

11. Pretermitted custom misgrounded upon Statute of tonnage and poundage by Nicholson's projection, by colour of equity, upon wool, to be laid down.

Answered at next meeting to do what is fit for a good king.

Desires now to provide for it in the new Bill of Tonnage and Poundage, upon which grounded, and now not to repetition upon it not singly lest we admit others, but to mention tonnage and poundage exacted illegally so, thereof.

12. Tonnage and poundage taken without act to be presented as a grievance; and to consider under whether this or impositions pretermitted, custom to be.

13. The impositions of currants to be presented.

14. The Deputy Alneager exacting 1*d.* for $\frac{1}{2}$*d.* and upon shop keeper, King answered should mended; to desire a Bill to regulate it.

[May 25.] Thursday before Whitsuntide we adjourned without any intimation from the Lords or King until that day sevennight, as we may upon such festivals, but upon other occasions some thought we might not, and the Lords did not adjourn until Friday, and then until Friday after us.

[June 1.] Thursday we met; read some bills; I reported Mathew Hutton's bill; committees ordered, and no more.

On Friday we called the house according to our order at recess and 25 only made default, on whom by former order 10*l.* apiece was set for a fine and further as the house should think fit, but no order for levying it and reasonable excuses were admitted after to divers.

Saturday after bills read and the order then to read engrossed bills read; some perceiving that the Lords not having the Earl of Arundel restored them confined nor the Bishop of Lincoln as I remember some mentioned.

Moved to have the house turned to a committee and so was to consider of heads for a conference with the Lords, because of our privileges, and reasons to be showed why we proceeded no slower.

1. How the Duke standing impeached before them of treason, and by us &c., in contempt was made Chancellor at Cambridge: the actors and instruments to be considered, he now accumulating offices, it being before one of the charges.

2. How some employed that &c. and Montagu that inclines to arminianism, like to bring in half popery or arminianism.

3. The interruption at Oxford, he being means to call us thither and dissolve us there when he touched.

4. The making Lord Embercourt that was a presenter a Baron, who had no estate in lands, who was declared with us for him as it were to make a party at this time, what justice could be expected.

5. The words he spoke of new counsels and the commoners' coats and clouted shoes: other countries grown upon new counsels when parliamentary liberty was turned to tumultuary licence, or to that effect.

Upon which subject Mr. Moore speaking; how impossible that was to [be] effected in England, how our Yeomanry here one would beat 10 of the slaves of France, and the King if he would keep his [*blank*] must preserve their liberty; and that if a tyrant were here is no forts no cities &c. to enthral us, therefore impossible.

Therefore he being interrupted, because he did bring such high points into supposition or doubt, was committed to the Tower, and after to be considered of if to be put out of house, but at first no more because all men did take he ment no evil, and he even in his speech commended the King his pious and gracious Government and showed these were but fanatic fears, yet this slip of words thus censured, as if a man besides intention kill &c. and though madman King is sacred and so tongues to be wisely moderated.

Saturday the King sent answer to the Lords how by many his great occasions he could not so ripen the matter for the Earl of Arundel as yet, but considering his great occasions he would haste as much as he could, and if before Wednesday sevennight he could he would, but then upon the word of a King he would restore him or else show his causes to satisfy, that they might more cheerfully proceed in business.

They notwithstanding as I heard adjourned until Wednesday or Thursday as [*blank*].

[June 5.] Monday the house resolve to send to the Vice Chancellor, Doctors, Proctors, Regents [? .] to certify of the election of the Lord Duke as an affront offered to the house and for the miscarriage and contempt to the house.

The King sent a message to stay the letter, holding it derogatory to his prerogative to intermeddle with the Universities or the election, which if any error was in it belonged to him to correct.

We by message answered him that it was done in a contempt to us as we conceived. We sent not for them as delinquents, we desired not to encroach upon his prerogative, but he that so stood accused and their burgesses being amongst us, and for them so accusing him he ought not to have been chosen; whereof his majesty being rightly informed, how this was an accumulation of the things complained of, would give leave to proceed.

The King sent back answer by the same messengers the Chancellor of the Exchequer and others how all corporations were derived from him, he bound to maintain them especially the Universities, that he would and was resolved so to do against whomsoever that did purposedly or by accident impeach them. He did think the election good, and would not have it questioned; but if any particular persons did miscarry themselves he was content we should examine them, but he said a man accused was not condemned nor lost not his fame, therefore, &c.

Yet Sir John Hotham thought we might proceed with the letter, which was read, reciting the affront that the Duke accused in Parliament of treason should be chosen.

The Chancellor of Exchequer protested against the knowledge of the accusation of treason, so did Noy.

Note.—For they meant in the Lords' house, but in our house they admitted there was none, and because the letter was so directly, it was then put over unto a new day Friday for debate.

[June 9.] Friday the house having intimation of a letter from the King, sent a message to have a copy of the Duke his answer to which they might reply it being put in yesterday.

The Lords sent word we should have answer by messengers of their own with all possible speed but sent none that day.

But proceeded against Earl Bristow, being all the forenoon in examining as I heard 2 witnesses for the King against him, the afternoon for him.

Then the same day the King's letter to the Speaker, by the intimation in it to be publicly read, was read, showing how we could not be ignorant how time was delayed, how he had called us, represented the danger of the state by enemies &c. and required advice and help in the things undertaken by our counsel, called God and men to witness [he] had done his part whatsoever happened hereafter; therefore required us to perfect our own promise to send up subsidy bill by the end of the next week without any condition, else he would take all delays and excuse for denials and take other resolutions.

After long debate the consideration of it was deferred until Monday.

Divers propositions then made to go on with the business of the commonwealth, tonnage and poundage in book of rates continuance of statutes; grievances first to be presented, and the most materials as the naval war &c. to be ordered by a committee which to proceed in first, but this denied.

Then the reasons for a fast to be desired were read, and we to desire the Lords to join but because they comprehended not *causa causarum* as seemed they were recommitted.

[June 10.] Saturday some bills reported, new heads for declaration to be proposed. The new counsels executed in taking tonnage and poundage without Parliament.

1. His abuse of the Parliament in his relation false from Spain 21 James made a record, being but a conference and entered as a Parliament

roll now produced against Bristoe as on accusation and laboured to prejudicate it.

That the King shall not give nor make contract for his crown revenue, under danger.

The Duke his casting all his excuses upon the King that was and is as in evil odour of his Government.

To protest God and the world we used no delay, but proceeded parliamentarily for relief.

Sir Edward Coke who was made Sheriff of Buckingham and came not to the house nor no new writ went out being served with a subpœna by the Lady Clare was allowed his privilege 9 June.

[June 12.] Monday a declaration read of all hindrances in parliamentary proceeding begun at Oxford and so till now, and all put on the Duke, the making of Sheriffs sending Glanville to Calais, denied by him so the dissolution at Oxford by the Council.

Then the King's letter taken into consideration, and after dispute until four at clock resolved by question not to proceed with subsidy, but to make a declaration as before, with this, that we may have justice of the Duke and then to proceed to read the bill, with show to pass it within the time (query the event).

The Parliament then by message from the King under great seal ended.

[1628, Notes in Parliament:—*a small 4to Volume.*]

"4th June, 1628.

A bill for the reversal of a decree in the Court of Wards which was had after fine and recovery, and upon pretence it was had by fraud which was said ought not to be admitted: this the first reading of this bill.

A petition concerning the Adventurers and Planters of the Somers Islands called the Bermudas, which shows that the sole commodities transported from thence is tobacco, of which the imposition was but of late 3*d.* a pound, and now it is increased to be 9*d.* which doth now lie so heavy upon them that they cannot subsist by it being now a full value of the third part of the value though. A Select Committee to take consideration of this business.

Sir E. Coke: I am to make a report of a great and weighty cause, wherein the King's Council had time to come and answer but they did not. There is required upon all the brewers in London and within four miles of it 4*d.* a quarter of malt that they shall brew, and it was grounded upon agreement betwixt them and the Green Cloth, but it was also agreed by both parties this imposition to be against the law. But the brewers said that it was not voluntary, for the King being indebted to them 1,500*l.* they refused to serve the King, and thereupon they were imprisoned and so they made this composition which indeed was rather an imposition. But though it were voluntary, yet it was not good as it was adjudged in 17 Edward III., the merchants agreed to give the King so much for all things both imported and exported, and this was not good, for that it was a grievance to the subject. And in the Exchequer they were compelled upon their oath *perdere se ipsos* upon their oath, and no man is bound *perdere se ipsum* and the King gains nothing, for the gentle projector he hath purchased 500*l.* per annum and built houses, and the King loseth, for it offered to serve the King for 24*l.* a ton, and he payeth 32*l.* a ton, and in 5 Edward III. the city hath a charter confirmed by Act of Parliament that no purveyance shall be

taken in London, but this extends not to the four miles, and so they insisted not much upon that because it extends not to it.

It is said that there is a great defect in powder for the defence of the kingdom, and that it is sold out of the Tower to whom we know not, it may be to our enemies; it lies us open to our enemies at sea, and being reduced into one hand, it had advanced it 3 a pound of late, and it is said that the ships that are furnished for great voyages do not deliver back the powder, which is a great neglect.

Alderman Clitherow:—If the matter and materials of which it is made grow so scarce, if this be neglected, and the carriage of it away be permitted, for we had much of our saltpetre from Poland and that now we cannot have it, nor from Germany; and desired a Committee may be chosen to consider of it. And whereas it is said that 1,000 tons of ordnance hath been of late transported into Dunkirk and other places and Mr. Waller said that he hath heard that every year this three or four years license to carry out 400 tons of ordnance; and that is Burlemacke, for which he hath a warrant, and that is or will be 400 pieces of ordnance; and license given to the Committee to examine all those things and send for witnesses &c.

And said that the materials of which the ordnance is made of lieth in Sussex and Kent, and the mines be almost spent so that require good consideration: this referred to the former Committee.

A message from the King by the Speaker of this House,—That his majesty upon the petition of both Houses having given you a full, royal and just answer, for that you and your posterity may hereafter have cause to bless God for it and his Majesty, it is now time to conclude this sessions and to fall on that which may be of most importance, and that he will abide to that answer which he hath given us, and that he will really and royally perform it, and that this session shall continue no longer than the 11th of this month: therefore he willeth us to fall in hand with that which may soonest conduce to that end, and that we should not entertain any new matter, and if there be any new matter of complaint we may be sooner called together again to have redress for what shall be amiss.

Doctor Mannering's charge engrossed, and sent up to the Lords, being of the Convocation house, wherein he showeth that the slow proceedings of parliament is not sufficient to supply the King in his wants, and by preaching of two sermons touching and tending to division.

A bill touching apparel sent down from the Lords,—That none but the King and his mother, brother, sister &c. shall wear any gold or silver lace or tissue or any embroidery thereof or anything made thereof about their apparel, coaches &c., and to forfeit 20*l.* half to the poor and half to the informer, this to begin after the 1st of March next, and to continue unto the first session of the next parliament.

Sir E. Coke takes exception to this bill at the first reading, being agreeable to the orders of the House, though not usual.

1stly. That this as in all other former penal bills and acts, the informer ought to inform in the county where the offence is committed for the peace of the subject;

2ndly. That the soldier whose bravery is his honour may be excepted;

3rdly. Whereas it is said that it is enacted by the assent of the King, it was never heard of before, but that it was enacted by the King with the assent of the Lords and Commons *et non e converso.*

An act for the restitution of the blood of Carew Raleigh, his father being attainted of high treason; and to be so restored as if his father had not been attainted. (Committed.)

Sir Dudley Digges reports from the Committee of Trade and tells what the Captain say to the King at the battle of Agincourt, when the King asked him what he thought of the French army.

But let me sweeten my report with the comfort that we have by the work of [*blank.*]

I will observe now to you the dangers and in that two particulars general:—

1st. The complaint of the decay of navigation, and their disturbance when they come home by imposts for our merchants; they meet with many enemies, with storms, with Jews and all nations and are hone [?] enough from them all: but when they come home they are much discouraged by the neglect of the settling the bill of tonnage and poundage.

But for the particulars which ariseth from a petition made by Trinity House:—there hath been lost 148 betwixt Dover and Berwick, at Harwich 8. Ipswich 38. Newcastle 23.

The cause of it: 1. Disorders and errors before they come to employment. They are stayed by commands when they are ready for going out, and when they are released, yet the mariners are taken away and they put to seek new men to their great loss and disadvantage, and put upon winter voyages and so many lost; and mariners discouraged by pressing; so that whereas in the western coast there was 3,000 mariners, now there are not 500, and the ships that are pressed have not pay sufficient, for they have but 2*s.* a ton, whereas they might have much more of others.

2nd. Mischiefs when they are abroad, by the command of ignorant captains; and the soldiers have not clothes, for they are kept from them that they run not away.

3rdly. Inconvenience and mischief; after employment being not paid: and the merchants endeavour to build them unserviceable lest they should be taken up.

The consideration of the Committee upon this is, 1st That formerly to encourage men to build ships there was 5*s.* a ton paid to the builder to encourage him. For further encouragement, that the 2*s.* which is given for a ton, it may be advanced to 3*s.* and this to be known before the ships go out. Also that the mariners and others which are behind for their pay may have it out of those subsidies; and some things which he hath thought fit himself, he will take time to move to this house, that may be for the increase of navigation and for the weakening of the enemy.

Sir John Eliot: You see what the limitation of our time now is, which is fit to be employed for the good of the King and the country.

At the conference touching Doctor Mannering in the Painted chamber the charge being delivered and enforced by Mr. Pym which he first read, which tended to divert the King from calling of parliaments:—'I shall the more confidently speak in this because there is nothing to discourage me, if you look upon your honours, the honour of the King.'

At the committee of grievances, Sir Edward Coke in chair, touching the patent granted to the Exchangers, that the sole and all monies shall be paid to Exchangers and to pay to them 1*d.* in 6*s.* 8*d.* which takes away the profit; for the inconvenience, it was declared vivâ voce by many merchants, that by reason of this office whereas they before bought money in specie, now it being advanced 10*d.* in the ounce by this the loss is now; whereas there was gain before when they might sell it to the goldsmith.

Another exception is that there [is] another patent of the same office yet in being and not surrendered before the grant of this to the Lord of Holland, to Sir Edward Villiers, and besides there is no mention in the latter patent to the Lord of Holland of the former patent to Sir Edward Villiers.

Responded: there is a difference betwixt *Custos Cambii;* that which is the keeping of exchange that is the profit of the exchange.

6 Hen. III., m. 5. This is also an office of trust, and being granted to the Lord of Holland for 31 years is void, because it may come to his executors or assigns not skilful; but for life it may be, as in Sir George Reynolds case, 9th Report.

Responded: that that hath been divers times before granted for years as in 6 Hen. III., m. 5, and others, and the difference betwixt a ministerial or a judicial office as it in Reynolds' case, and in this case, which stands of his proper feet. [4. Exception: it is an office of skill, and the patentee hath no skill, for it not enough that his deputies have skill, but that the patentee have, otherwise void as it is in Darcy's case in the 11th Report.]

Mr. William, one skilful in gold and silver mines, said that there is no mine of gold, but gold is found in little round pieces, being washed by the water: and there is great diversity betwixt gold, some is mixed with silver, and so much less, and it is not possible if he be not skilful to know the worth, which my Lord of Holland is not.

Calthrop: When it is granted to one of such dignity as a Lord whether he not have a deputy for his dignity, vide 9th Report, Earl of Shrewsbury's case 8 Edw. III., p. 3, m. 21.

Resolved when he dieth the exception is taken away, for it may be otherwise with his executors.

5th Exception is that the commonwealth hath entrusted the King with this power, and when he grants it for 31 years he puts the power out of himself, and by the same reason he may grant it in fee simple and grant all officers under him.

An ounce in the Mint makes 7*s.* 1*d.*

Vide 9 Edw. III. which concerns the exchange of money and bullion.

5th June, 1628.

A message from his Majesty by [*blank*].

To let us know that he will not alter the prefixed time before set down, without alteration; and because that cannot be if you enter into any new matter which may exceed the time, therefore his Majesty requireth you that you enter not into anything which may lay scandal or aspersion of the estate or the ministers thereof.

Sir Robert Phillips: We came hither covered let me say with injuries, and we have forgotten them as much as may be. If it be a crime to love his Majesty too much we must be guilty of it, since our intention was only to show his Majesty in a humble manner what might have been good for him and the kingdom. But since our sins be such that we cannot be permitted to do the good which we all desired, let us show his Majesty by a humble declaration of our true intention, and then since we cannot serve him here, let us desire that we may return home and pray for him.

Sir John Eliot: Touching our miseries and misgovernments.

The Speaker told him how unwilling he was to interrupt him, yet the King when he delivered this message commanded him that if the House did not observe this that then he should put them in mind of it.

Sir Nathaniel Rich: We fear the safety of the King's person, the altering of religion, and subversion of the state and kingdom, and let

us go to the Lords and declare this, and the violation of our liberty of the parliament, and make a protestation of it there; for this tieth us up against all our liberties which is not to be endured; but if we may not let us sit still.

Resolved upon question; that every member of this house hath spoken nothing but dutifully from the beginning of the parliament to this time.

The House resolved into a committee to consider of the message delivered by the Speaker from the King, Mr. Whitby in the chair, and to consider what was to be done for the good of the King and kingdom.

Sir Edward Coke: This is the greatest violation that ever was, for in former times the parliament complained of the King's son, great Dukes, &c. and it was parliamentary, as 7 Hen. IV. n. 32, 34, and that there was no head that Sir John Eliot spoke of but there was redress for it in former times.

And I think the Duke of Buckingham is the cause of all this, and so long as those courses are God will not go with us neither by land nor sea, and personal matters are the grievance of grievances, and if all our miseries be looked into I think they will all reflect upon him, and let us go to the King and show him this, for that person is grievance of grievances.

Sir Robert Mansell: I stand up to speak in discharge of my duty though the weakest, and we were all at first transported with passions by the message, and now we have recollected ourselves and shown us to be men and not the sons of women: my motion is that we go all of us to the King and prostrate ourselves before him and show.

Kirton: That honourable gentleman that spoke so well and shown us so good a way, that I think we will all follow him, though with loss of our lives, and it is this great Duke that breeds all this danger: he hath gotten the strength of the kingdom into his hands of General by land and sea.

Shirland: We are so near the marriage of misery that if I do not now speak I must for ever hold my peace. Though the conception of the journey I will not say was not Spanish, yet the event I am sure was Spanish. We have betrayed Denmark, the French protestants, the Netherlanders. Are not the prime men in Court papists, and are and have not eminent men and captains been papists? Are not the papists at home connived at and compounded with a low rate? The Arminian faction encouraged and fostered, which was that which hath overthrown the Low Countries, and though religion cannot be altered at one time yet it works much.

Mr. Valentine: He which is called the General of soldiers minded to cut our throats: he is the common enemy of the kingdom, and is and must and shall be and can be no other.

Sir John Seidmore: We must do that which is good and likely to be so; it is agreed that necessity is the cause, and take that away and take away the effect: and though particulars have suffered some pressure, yet that hath been done for saving a general deluge and a swallowing up.

Sir Edward Coke: Somewhat in justification in our proceedings 18 Jac., the Commons' protestation, that the privileges of parliament are the ancient birthright of the subjects; and that every member hath free liberty to speak and bring to question anything, and to be free from imprisonment, and all this confirmed by Act of parliament.

Sir William Becher: I shall speak that which I know. I have been with this person now in question at the Island of Rhe and I speak it

upon hope of salvation that I have ever observed [him] so full of devotion and affection to his country as that he hath further adventured than any man else, and hath ever so expressed himself.

Mr. Selden moves that the declaration or remonstrance to the King may be framed of these four heads;

1. Our dutiful carriage that we have used hitherto.
2. Of our privileges now infringed, and the protestation in 18 Ja.
3. That the Duke may be represented to be the occasion for avoiding his own censure of this unhappiness.
4. That which shall be for the good of the King and kingdom.

This resolved of by question to be represented to the King in our remonstrance.

Sir Thomas Germie [Jermyn] moves that we may put the question for our liberties, but for the great person now named not without good proof he may be so represented him to be the two, not only common enemy of this kingdom but also of all Christendom, without hearing what answer he can make for himself.

His Majesty wisheth that you remember the message last sent unto you whereby he hath set a day for the end of a sessions, and his Majesty lets us know that he will certainly hold the day prefixed without alteration.

And because that cannot be if the House should fall upon new business:—

His Majesty therefore requireth that you do not enter into or proceed with any business which may spend greater time than his majesty hath prefixed, or which may cast scandal or aspersion upon the state, government or ministers thereof. This is the message verbatim.

Resolved that we should go to the King ourselves by way of remonstrance, touching the infringing of our liberties, the clearness of our intentions, that we were doing that which were both for the good of the King and kingdom. The heads of this to be:—

1. The hazard of innovation of religion.
2. The hazard of innovation of government.
3. To take into consideration all our misfortunes and the occasion thereof, and the causes.
4. The hazard of the King's person; since all the forces are drawn into one hand.

This resolved to be one declaration with the four resolutions of the other side.

6th June.

Sir Francis Arland saith that he will not give his voice to accuse him before we hear him or any thing proved against him.

Answered that the parliament hath a double capacity, one a Court, so it hath another as a council, and as a council we may do this without proof.

A message by the Speaker from the King.

His Majesty's pleasure is for the present to adjourn the House to to-morrow.

A message for His Majesty by our Speaker.

6th June.

His Majesty hath understood that [by] the message lately received you have been restrained of your just liberty: he is pleased to declare his intention not to be to restrain the just liberties of the subject, but only his desire in the manner not to touch him by accusing his ministers which have given him counsel for things past, so that this may be.

Sir Benjamin Rudyard: This day is appointed for the taking into consideration the answer of the petition; and I desire we may not dispute

this too much, because it may be thought to have various constructions ; but let us humbly desire that his Majesty would fully declare himself shortly in the usual manner, such as may stand with his heart.

Sir Robert Phillips : Though this day was appointed for the consideration of the message, yet this interposition hath diverted it, and I think it is not King Charles advising himself, but it is King Charles advised by disordered counsel that hath occasioned this, and let us go on with that which we were in hand with, that the sub-committee may take that into consideration the heads resolved on yesterday, only excepting the breach of our liberties which his Majesty by his own goodness hath prevented ; and also to show his Majesty the state of things at home with the things abroad with a mutual relation one to the other.

Sir John Eliot : I shall speak this day with as great joy as I did yesterday with sorrow. Two propositions now in consideration ; one touching the answer to our petition, and that I think there be so many so well affected to his Majesty's service, that they will move so much with his Majesty that he will of his own goodness give us an answer without our suit, for if we should desire it we should go to the Lords, and that might cast us upon new rocks, dangers, and difficulties, which is neither fit for the hazard nor time. I desire we make a humble representation or remonstrance of our loyalness and of our intentions both for the good of his person, his state and kingdom.

Mr. Coriton : The answer may receive various constructions and so it may receive a good one and so I take it, but howsoever the Lords and Commons have agreed this to be our rights, and I think no minister of justice dare do to the contrary, and I think this may well satisfy ; and not to desire a further answer, especially since the King hath declared he will stand to this answer.

Mr. Pym : The answer is defective, first it hath no relation by any words to the petition, neither by words of according nor no other, and for that I am of opinion that that rest unto whether we hear the King will of himself make an explanation.

Sir John Eliot : In difference of opinions there are difference of expressions, and there hath been some strained constructions made of some words which he spoke by way of expression of the duty to the King and country. He spake thus that he hopes that we had hearts, hands, and swords to cut the throats of the enemies of the King and Kingdom (and state, as some say).

And resolved upon question, that in those words he did not exceed his duty and allegiance ; and that therein we all agree.

The House resolved into a Committee, Mr Whitby in the chair, and to take into consideration the danger of the King and Kingdom, and the causes thereof.

Sir R. Harlow ; The way of our proceeding, that those collections which were yesterday voted, to be read.

Additions to the heads for the remonstrance to the King : 1. The decay of Shipping and trade, and the materials thereof, that is oaken timber.

Pym : Two things to be enquired of ; a negotiation for the toleration of religion in Ireland, which I hear is nearly effected ; 2. What is become of the merchants' goods foreigners that hath been stayed in recompense of ours taken, and no recompense returned for the loss of them.

Sir Nathaniel Rich : The fear of innovation of religion ;

1. By tolerating papists, and not execution of the laws. Which Mr. Whittiker : That in Drury Lane there are three houses for one [*sic*].

2 The doctrine of Arminianism fostered and favoured in court and by proclamation, by hindering the printing of orthodoxal books, and giving free countenance to the other.

3. The neglect of preaching God's word.

4. That an army averse to religion to us is now amongst us, which breeds much suspicion.

Mr. Jordan: In Holborn there is 1500 papists and 100 priests and 100 baptized in the Queen's House, which ought not to be.

Sir Edward Coke: The commonwealth doth flourish when religion doth flourish, and they do live and die together.

In 1 Hen. V. rot. parl. the Commons pray that the King may promise nothing which may not be performed. When the King of Spain came with his invincible navy in Queen Elizabeth's time and was overthrown, the Catholics of England sent John and Christopher Wright to tender their service to the King of Spain, and he answered them that the English Papists were dearer to him than his Castilians. But for all this the Papists be in a wise case; for what said the Spanish Captain, what said he:—We will send the papists souls to heaven, but for their lands and goods we will take them, for they are our prey.

And in Queen Elizabeth's time an express clause that the recusants shall not have the two parts, which now they have, and this is certainly an express toleration by this commission directed into the north.

2. The second head is the fear of the subversion of government and innovation thereof:

1. Cause of this fear is this,—1. The levying of 1100 horse to come out of the Low Countries, for what end not known, and riders for them which Sir John Strangwish said was as great an encouragement as can be to the enemy to see our weakness.

Kirton: There is a commission of excise, a copy of which may be seen in the Crown Office.

Sir Walter Earle: The foot forces and especially the Irish which are not well affected, they are here made garrisons; not needful, and tending to danger.

3. A third head: What is the causes of our disasters abroad.

1. That there is either insufficient or unfaithful generals or both, who are not qualified for this. And this instanced by a book printed with the authority of my Lord of Wimbledon, and the plot which was employed upon Calais was intended for St. Lucar when they were ignorant of the place, as appears by the book.

Sir Robert Mansel: Since I have been thrust out of the Council of war I have been at the school of obedience, and will rather expose myself to your censure than to neglect my duty. With what success could England undertake that business and not know the fort of St. Lucar. Why were they not called, that knew it as well as the right hand from the left, and doth he that speaks to you; but for that there was nothing but error in the undertaking and composition of it, it was not undertaken in a seasonable time; the ships, their victuals, their men were not proportioned for this design.

Worthy men neglected and mean men and pages preferred, and such like.

Sir Francis Annesley: I pray you let us not accuse generals without particulars, and for the unworthiness of any let them be named and know what it is, and then we may proceed. And for those who are so worthy which are not preferred, it were good they were named, and the pages if any be made captains it were good we knew them, and not to accuse men in general.

7th June 1628.

Sir Peter Midleton produceth a note that there are 58 ton of ordnance now ready to be transported into Holland to Rotterdam, which is desired; that Mr. Chancellor is desired to move the King that they may be stayed. Mr. Burlemacke called in and asked whether he have a Commission for the transporting of ordnance, and he confessed it. Mr. Chancellor: It hath been deliberately argued at the Council table, and there by plain demonstrations shown that if they were not had from hence they might be had from other parts, and then it would be a hindrance to ourselves.

At the Grand Committee Mr. Whitby in the chair; Mr. Burlemacke answers; touching the horse to be brought into England:—1. That he had a warrant from the King for to pay 1300*l.* for the levying of arms, and 1500*l.* for arms, and he heareth that 1000 horse was levied, but whither they are to go he knew not, and he thinketh that there are men likewise to come with them.

John Dalbers, Sir William Balbord King [*sic*].

The privy seal; for to buy 1000 horse 15000*l.*, 5000 muskets cost 5000*l.* the rest of the 30000*l.* for pike, costies, and other furniture.

The ships was to be provided for 6 months, so that it is not likely to be for England.

9th June 1628.

A message from the Lords to desire a present conference with us touching the answer to our petition of Right.

The Conference. My Lord Keeper said that because the good of this kingdom consisted in the good intelligence of this people which doth much consist of the King's answer, and therefore for the good correspondence which hath ever been betwixt both Houses they thought fit to acquaint us, that they resolved to petition the King for a clearer and a more satisfactory answer, which they desired us to join with them, if we so pleased.

Mr. Coriton: There is no such haste (and not liked of).

Agreed and so resolved upon question, that we should join with them in the petition for a clear and satisfactory answer, in full Parliament; *quod acta.*

Littleton: reasons for the not passing of the Lord of Devonshire's bills being, to enable him to sell land being but tenant for life, his son an infant and the inheritance with him.

1. He is an infant, and we are his guardians, and we must do as he would: and peradventure he would not have agreed to it.

2. It is an example and a precedent to future time to take away all certainty in conveyances.

3. It takes away a fundamental point of justice to take away land so settled, and we are a Court of Justice.

Rowles his reasons: Though land be given him in value, yet that reason will not remain to posterity, but the example will.

2. If it be for the advantage of an infant, it need not be so much desired.

If an action ancestral be brought against an infant, he must have his full age and not admitted by his friends; and if in a personal action he must plead by his guardian; and if he mispleads, he must answer for it; and if the infant be prejudiced I think those that have ventured collateral security would be loth to pay what the infant shall be prejudiced.

Jones: There is 20000*l.* in statutes and there may be judgments, and then all this land shall be liable to it, and there is no justice for the son to be punished for the iniquity of his father, when he receives no benefit by him, for all this comes by his grandfather.

Shirland: The old Earl of Devonshire having land by descent and purchase to the value of 16000*l.* per annum, settles this land to the Earl that now is, for life, without impeachment of waste, the remainder to the infant the Lord Cavendish that now is in tail with remainders over.

Whereas it is said we break a rule of justice, I say we do not.

For if the infant have a recompense, then it is a legal answer.

For though it be agreed that tenant in tail cannot do anything to the prejudice of his issue, yet if tenant in tail grant a rentcharge for the extinguishing a dormant right it is good and bindeth. So if an infant make a lease without reservation of rent, it is void, yet if it be without a rent reserved it is not void but only voidable. And for the statutes and recognizances they are all cancelled and vacated.

Mr. Bish: I was inconstant and unresolved in opinion what way to give my opinion before he spoke, and now I am of a contrary opinion, for you take away 2600*l.* per annum to his wife for jointure, and rob Peter to pay Paul; this is no justice. And the case of the granting a rentcharge is far different from this.

Mr. Noy: Touching the value in recompense, which is matter in fact, we must believe information, and he doth bind himself for all manner of waste which is a great recompense.

Whereas it is said we go against the will of the owner, in that we must consider the will of giver is to be observed, and in that when land is settled by a public act, and when by private, where by this it is fraud if he so convey that it is not liable to his debts; therefore the parliament ought to enable this land to pay this debt.

11th of June [1628].

A message from the King that he understandeth that the House desires to have the Petition of Right with the answer to it to be enrolled in the Parliament Roll and in the three Courts of Record in Westminster, and that it may be printed; which His Majesty doth agree to all, both for his own honour and our safety, which did much please, and humble thanks returned.

Mr. Solicitor reports the alterations and agreements at the Grand Committee for the Subsidy bill, wherein the baronets of England are discharged of being 50*l.* men in lands in the subsidy.

A bill to settle divers lands and honours and divers goods and chatteis to be to the Earl of Arundel and the heirs male of his body, the remainder to the Lord William Howard and the heirs male of his body, the remainder to the Earl's right heirs, with a saving to the rights to all men. Two read at one time, and approved, being to make perpetuities by act of parliament, for the good of the earldom, and Sir Edward Coke wished every nobleman would do so that there might be convenient maintenance for the supporting the earldoms and dignities.

An act for to enable Dutton Lord Gerrard, to make a jointure to any wife which he shall marry, and to provide portions for his daughters and his other children.

A report by Mr. Pym, for the Grand Committee of religion, touching Doctor Montague.

The first motive to move them to take this into consideration is out of the writ of summons to consider both of spiritual and temporal matters, and they know that if it were a matter of religion not settled there were another place fitter, but being settled this court of parliament was to punish and to regulate such offenders.

Second motive was for the unity of religion.

3rd. That they should take example to precedent in former parliaments, who have likewise taken this into consideration, the three last parliaments.

They have found that this doctrine tends to popery, and his tenets; and now dispersed and maintained by Doctors and Bishops, and in many conferences.

Articles exhibited against Richard Montague, Clerk.

1. For printing divers books as "Answer to the Gag to the Protestants," another an "Invocation of Saints," etc., wherein he maintaineth divers points against our religion now settled.

As men justified may rise and fall from grace.

2. That the Church of England doth differ from the Reformed Church,

3. That doth scandalize those that are conformable by the name of Puritans, whereby he hath laboured to bring them into the King's high displeasure, that was.

4. That he doth nourish and hold many opinions of the Arminians.

5. That there is no difference of faith betwixt the Church of Rome and ours; and that their Church is builded upon the prophets and Apostles, and there is no danger in their tenets.

6. He doth falsify the articles in reciting them.

7. He doth falsify the book of Homilies.

8. He doth falsify the book of the Common Prayer book, 36 p.

9. He doth seek to breed sedition in the kingdom by making a separation by the name of puritans, for the first occasion of this name was from those that differ in some opinions and ceremonies from the Church of England, but he hath extended it to those that are pure in heart, and make an outward show of conformity.

And he saith that those are a strong and potent faction averse to the state, addicted to anarchy, and to shake off monarchy, and so brings them into the displeasure with the King, knowing that kings are jealous of power and faction, and shows that they are as far from piety as those that are addicted to popery.

Then he seeks to make them odious with the people by saying that they were brought in by the devil.

Appeal page 64 } No difference betwixt Papist and us in free will
Gag ,, 186 } and our conclusions are all one. And for Real Presence, we do jar and jangle infinitely without cause: and so takes away all importance in matters of religion.

And whereas the papist says we make God the author of sin by necessitating all our actions, and those tenets are to avert men from the truth; now he seeks to convert men, by extolling the pope to be the great bishop and the ancient, and doth defend him not to be Antichrist.

225 page Gag. He saith that pictures are and may be used for helps in devotion, and the cross.

9. He seeks to compose our religions, whereby he would take away our religion.

10. He shows how and what difference there is betwixt the divines of our own nation, and so doth scandalize our religions by our own men.

Campanella, 25 Cap: shows how the only way to disturb and conquer a state is to breed division in the nation.

10. By falsifying King James his book by express contradiction to the King.

Quicksilver spirits, child ravished spirits, thieves, liars, and so he calls men of his own profession.

Ordered that the articles prepared should be presented to the Lords as a charge against him, and Mr. Pym to make it good.

The Commission for Imposition to the Lord Keeper, the Lord President, Lord Chamberlain, the Lord Duke, and all or most of the Privy Council, for giving supply to our friends and allies, and for maintaining of our kingdom, and for that money being the principal sinew of war, we willing to take into consideration what way to raise moneys by way of imposition or otherwise, for the inevitable and pressing occasions of the state, and for your doing of this, this shall be your sufficient warrant, and that you make return hereof presently after you have brought this to any maturity.

Sir Nathaniel Rich: A good physician doth look into the state and region of the body before he doth administer cure, and we find that the whole body of the state is sick and diseased in every part, except only the head, which we with one voice agree to be right.

The numbers of the disease is 10.

1. Fear of innovation of religion, by a countenancing of popery against the King's answer.

2. Favour that they find in the court as the Countess of Buckingham.

3. Conferring places and honours upon them.

4. A kind of toleration by commission, which hath much multiplied that religion.

5. The growing number of the Arminian faction by the countenance [of] them in court, by preferment.

6. The discountenancing of books against those Arminians.

7. The want and decay of preaching by the much discommendation of it.

8. A dangerous revolt from the true religion in Ireland.

9. The circumstance of time is to be observed when there is a powerful hand abroad to extirpate our religion and likely that there is a co-operation at home.

10. Letters procured to stay proceedings at Sessions against recusants: as that Lord.

2ndly. The fear of innovation of government.

1. By the breach of the fundamental points of our liberties; and in that the misinformation of the King of the willingness of the loans when it was not so.

2. By billeting of soldiers not removed, and the Irish not well affected in religion.

3. The taking of customs without the bill of tonnage and poundage, which is dangerous.

4. The project to bring in the German horse and 40,000*l.* employed for them.

5. The commission for raising money by way of imposition, which they conceive to be in a manner of an excise.

7. By removing worthy men from deserving their places.

8. The drawing of all the forces both by sea and land into one hand.

Sir John Eliot would not have this added, because it makes not for his end, and it was done in King James his time and so reflects not upon the Duke, so left out.

9. added. The proclamations being against the law, as for buildings for eating flesh in Lent, and going down into the country in Christmas.

3rdly. The causes of all our disasters in our attempt.

1. The insufficiency and unfaithfulness of our generals, in the three late voyages, the want of valour, the expense of a million of money, dishonour, and the loss of 1600 men of late; transported ordnance from

1623 to 1628, 1721 tons; the loss of 1600 common soldiers by taking unseasonable times.

4. The decay of the forts in the Kingdom by not maintaining them, the want of provision in them.

A 5 general head [*sic*]. The want of powder in the Tower, for there is but now 60 last of powder when there should be 300 last always, and the King buying powder there was sold the last year 864 barrels, and the King paid 8*l.* for powder, whereas he might have it for 3*l.* 3*s.* 8*d.*

6 and 7 heads. The decay of trade, and the loss of ships and mariners, and therein represent a catalogue of the names and number of our losses, to be had by instruction of the Trinity House.

Note.—Mr. Nicholas said that the King's ships were never so strong by 20 sail.

6. The want of the guarding the narrow seas, for there is but 6 ships, and they lie in the harbour and do no service, but hurt.

2. They are not paid and so discouraged.

3. They are not allowed to take free prizes, but must have letters of marque to their great charge of 8*l.* when they would do it at their own charge, and a tenth part being to the King, and a fifteenth part to the Lord Admiral.

4. The ships are taken from the merchants when they are provided to go out, to the great discouragement of them.

Now to provide remedies for these things, and to add if any thing be to be added, you may do it in your wisdom.

Sir Miles Hubert: There is one part of the order not yet performed and that is the cause of these, and that is I think as every man's heart can witness, the Duke of Buckingham.

But advised, that these heads be voted before we proceed to the causes and the remedies, and then that will be seasonable.

The Chancellor of the Duchy reports from the King that his heart is as firm to religion as any, and that he will take all occasion to suppress all Popery and Arminianism.

The six heads before mentioned resolved upon question to be heads of our declarations.

Mr. Long: Now it is seasonable to show the cause, and not balk the truth, and that is the Duke of Buckingham. I do not say he is the cause that is the only cause, but I may well say he is a cause of all these.

And first: His mother is there by his favour there fed and discountenancing religion, and York House the place of consultation for Arminianism before the Duke: and that for the first.

For the second. [*Blank.*]

For the third—He is the general of all and the causes of all.

For the fourth, the decay of trade: He hath made journeys to take away their voyages.

For the fifth, for the decay of shipping: Though I cannot I suppose others can.

For the sixth: The want of guarding the narrow seas is apparent. And I have cleared my conscience in this, and what I leave others may glean.

Sir John Maynard: For the first, in Spain I heard him so argue and maintained it as I wondered. And for Arminianism I have heard him protest against it.

Chancellor of the Duchy: We have lost much good which might be cause we had not that we desired. And the King desires you to

leave all personal things, and that his Majesty would take it as a great favour of us and esteem it great moderation and temper: and you will if you go this way remember that I have given you good counsel.

Coriton: For our disasters at the Island of Rhe, he gave the French and now comes to take it from them. For the entry of the island I will not speak for it was done with honour though with loss, and he did not as he was advised to come away and take the fruits of the island, and employed Dalbeares for [*blank*].

For victualling of Rochelle, in place of that they victual Dunkirk, and it seems we rather take counsel with Spain to deliver that we have up to the enemies. And he is the occasion of all these.

That Dalbeares is made a man so contemptible and those accused for entertaining him. You may know an action of his of trust to the Count Palatine, when he might have betrayed him, if he had not been trusty, to the enemy, and have had 100,000*l.* for it.

Sir Benjamin Rudyard: I would not have us to take that course which may not hurt him, and do ourselves no good. Every thing must have time to seek and prepare things, but when we tell the King of these faults, no doubt but the King will reflect upon those who are faulty.

Sir Henry Martin: Natural motions are swiftest in the beginning and slowest in the end, violent motions the contrary; and I desire we may follow the natural motion. Let us look to the end, and endeavour to make that more possible which we desire, and let us endeavour to breed in the King rather an apprehension of our general care than any private passion. And this I humbly desire.

Sir Edward Coke: For his two motions they are clear contrary, but let that lie aside. I do clear my gracious sovereign, for he seeth with other men's eyes, and works with other men's hands: so if there be a fault in the judges it is not the King's; if the Treasurer offend, the King is not to blame. You see the King of Spain aims at a general monarchy, and for that I will say no more of that, but all goes wrong, and we must set the saddle of the right horse, and that is the Duke of Buckingham; and this clears the King.

Captain Price: Why we should heap up all these things and grievances, and then leap upon him presently without any other preparation or proof, when we have protested by the mouth of Sir Henry Martin, that we will avoid all personal things, and I will not say fall upon him expressly against the Kings command: and I cannot with my conscience and by an implicit faith condemn a man I know not guilty, and I shall clear him to I see the contrary.

Mr. Spencer as much, that [*blank*] 2 Hen IV, n. 11.

Sir John Scidmore: To go upon general opinion I count it no justice, but he is likely to be a great good to the Kingdom, for there is many that will testify he was the cause of the calling this parliament, and that it is like to be a good to the whole Kingdom, and I am persuaded he hath done many good offices, and why we should so fall upon him I know not, and I think we are all persuaded the King would take it well if we should leave persons.

Resolved upon question, That the excessive power of the Duke of Buckingham and the abuse of that power is the chief cause of these evils to the king and kingdom.

Nota.—1. No proofs, but disproved.

2. No reasons answered of the contrary part.

3. The particulars under every general head refused to be put to the question, but to involve many particulars which had no relation to the party under general heads.

4. No man heard with patience that spoke of the contrary part, but derided against reason.

Sir Nathaniel Rich presents the remonstrance of the evils of this Kingdom, and the Duke the cause of them all.

'Most dread sovereign, we knowing your Majesty's royal and true intention for to be for the good of your Kingdom, and knowing our duties to be called to present and advise your Majesty of the state of this Kingdom, which now stands much distressed.

'And we protest that in this we do not, and it is far from us, to cast the least aspersion of your sacred Majesty. And we do humbly thank your Majesty for your gracious answer to our petition of right. And we knowing that your Majesty cannot be so well and truly informed as by us, and we therefore humbly present the fear of some secret working tending to the innovation of religion.' And then goes on with the particulars, which see before.

[14 June?]

Doctor Mannering impeached by the House of Commons for his seditious doctrine, and Judgment decreed by the speaker of our house, in the name of the House of Commons, against him, for it.

And the Lord Keeper called him twice to hear his judgment, which was that the Lords upon the impeachment of the Commons, have adjudged, 1. That he shall be imprisoned during the pleasure of that House. 2. He shall be fined 1000*l*. 1. 3. He shall be suspended from his living for three years, and disabled for ever to preach at Court and to receive any dignity, and that an able preaching minister shall serve that cure out of the profits of his benefice. 4. That his book shall be burnt, and a proclamation to call in all the books, and all to be burnt.

Selden: As we have shown, the excessive power of the Duke of Buckingham is a great cause of the evils and dangers of this kingdom, for that cannot be in any man but it is dangerous or inconvenient.

Yet the abuse of that power or his power is not desired to be rem[ed]ied, nor no desire represented to the King for the remedy.

Therefore resolved *sur* question that a clause shall be added concerning the abuse of that power, and to be this, to desire his Majesty since the Duke of Buckingham hath such power and that he hath abused this power to refer to his Majesty's consideration whether it may be safe for the kingdom to continue him in such trust, or for the King to have him so near his person.

17th June, 1628.

Sir Walter Earle: Of the loss of ships within the 3 years 50, and odd ports, of which 24 no certificate.

The number of the ships taken by the enemy 100; cast away 133; 100,000*l*. value, more.

Lesser ships 125 taken.

In all 260 ships taken and lost of the value of 197,000*l*. 130 lesser ships under 100 ton, the value not yet known. The French merchants loss esteemed to be 70,000*l*.

The pardon: Desired that the heads may be seen of it in this House before the subsidy bill passeth, for it is desired that those that be criminally accused may be excepted; for though it be of grace, yet it may be so as it may strike at the whole bottom of our judicature. Not granted by the King.

The subsidy bill sent up the 17th of June.

Exception taken by the Lords at a conference, that in the preamble of the bill the Lords were left out, and to continue the good corre-

spondence betwixt both Houses, they thought fit to move us, if we thought fit to give warrant by the House, that at a conference betwixt both Houses, the word Commons may be put out, and the bill may go "We your humble and loyal subjects," as it hath been before, and so that includeth both.

9 Hen. IV., *idemnite nominis* [*sic*]; no conference to be touching the bill of subsidy.

Selden: I wonder that they should think that we have done them injuries, for unto 1 Eliz. the Lords were not named, and the last parliament the Commons were only named, and so no necessity of alteration, for before Henry VIII. time they were never named for their assent supplies the naming of them. And the bill of tonnage and poundage is plainly the grant of subsidies, and we name only the Commons and not the Lords.

Sir Nathaniel Rich: The subsidies have ever been propounded here by the Commons and never by the Lords, and so in the preamble the proposition comes only from the Commons. But when it comes to the enacting they are joined with us, that is in the giving. And at the end of the sessions, the speaker delivers this bill as a gift from the Commons and not naming the Lords as it is no bill else, and it hath a special answer. In 39 Eliz., the Bishopric of Norwich, a proviso then was added at a conference, they being loth to send down the bill, which doth fit this case. (The ordinary way is if any alteration be made of any bill it must be sent down, and agreed to by us and then sent up again.)

Glanville: As the bill of subsidy moves from us, so must the amendment.

19th June, 1628.

Taken for a rule that a bill voted and sent up to the Lords, cannot be sent down to be amended without they make their alterations and then we may agree to it; but the subsidy bill though it be mended and sent down, yet conceived we cannot agree to the alteration. *Sed quaere de hoc.*

The King's answer to the Remonstrance read by our speaker; which was:—

That after his answer to our Petition of Right, he did not expect any remonstrance, and this consisted of matters of religion and matters of state, which did more properly belong to his knowledge than ours; and he thought before this that we had understood the state of the kingdom, but now he understands that we do not understand it so well as he thought we had done.

And [as] we had taken time to draw this he would take time to consider of it and to answer it as he thought fit, or as it deserved.

My Lord of Cork, by name Boyle, his counsel heard in the full House, for that saving of all the right of my Lord of Cork in the province of Munster, which he bought of Sir Walter Raleigh for 1500*l.* which then worth 200*l.*, per annum, and Mr. Carew Raleigh seeking now to restore his blood, and to enable him to take by descent what his father had; and though peradventure some things be not observed, as matters of attornments, liveries of seisin, enrollments, whereby he may pick some quarrel, yet having paid the full value as appears that none would have given more, he thinks: and his humble suit is that there may be a proviso in this bill to the Earl of Cork that he may not be troubled or sued for it; and my Lord of Cork hath bestowed 20,000*l.* for the plantation.

The answer for Mr. Carew Raleigh:—That for the payment of the money that it is matter of fact, and will trouble this House, and they

may trouble this House so long that he shall not get his bill to pass this sessions. But we say it is worth 60,000*l.* per annum, and there be many defects which we now peradventure know not. But if my Lord of Cork have such right, he need not fear ; for be it by law or equity as it must be, he may defend it, for neither of these be taken from him. For he desires only to be enabled to sue for that which is his right. And if my Lord of Cork have no right why should he desire that he may not sue him. And in the bill there is a proviso that Mr. Raleigh may be sued, and it were hard if he may not sue for his right. And if there be any defect in the conveyance, it falls to the King by the attainder of Sir Walter Raleigh, and [*blank*].

Sir Edward Coke : This proviso is prejudicial to the King, for it confirms all letters patents which were made of such lands, manors, &c., which we know not how and what defects there be in them, and there be granted concealed titles which we condemn, and therefore I would have no proviso added.

Mr. Browne : Whereas it is said it must come to the King if there be any defect, and not to the heir ;—it may be otherwise ; for if Sir Walter Raleigh had an estate in tail, and then he makes a feoffment in fee, and covenants to make further assurance, and is attainted before further assurance, the King cannot have anything but the heir may, by this restoring of his blood, as if he had never been attained. And the planters under him being many and protestants, it were hard for them to be put out.

And Masons said, This being a bill of grace it were hard to prejudice them who were not faulty. For the purchasers might be well advised by the counsel to proceed with their purchase ; for when Sir Walter Raleigh is attainted if there were any defect his heir cannot take advantage of it : and the King having confirmed it by act of parliament he cannot take any advantage ; and so there is no fault in them for they could not know of this restitution. And by this the son should take advantage of his father's attainder, for his father's covenants for better assurance being avoid by his attainder whereby my Lord of Cork was disabled to have it, now Mr. Raleigh shall take advantage of his father's attainder.

Selden : Restitution is for enabling him to be in the same manner that he should be if no attainder had not been, and if there were no saving in this bill the land forfeited he should be restored too. But that he is not by the saving to the King and those that claim under him, and if this proviso were added, then it were against the nature of all the bills of this nature as if one were naturalized to all intents and purposes excepting only to one A.B. this were such a thing as hath not been seen.

A message : That the Lords had sent to the King for the cancelling of the commission and warrant for raising money by way of imposition or otherwise ; which were cancelled before the King and sent down to the Lords to see it so, and they sent it down to us to see it also.

And Coke said, that we have had a judgement for our liberties by our petition of right, and now in *præsenti parliamento* we have had execution of it. This to be entered in the book.

Mr. Ball : In all particular bills there are general savings of all others' rights, for that it cannot be that all others' rights can be examined. I conceive we do him an apparent injustice if we do not admit such a proviso.

The King having but a right of action, if there were a defect in the conveyance, [it] is not given to him by the attainder.

Mr. Glanvill: The very attainder is and works a release in law, and doth confirm his title, as it was the opinion of the whole committee; and if he never be restored then the Earl of Cork is well, and if he be not restored he hath no wrong, and so I think the proviso may well pass and the bill also.

Sir John Eliot: For matter in fact it is doubtful for the payment of 100*l.* which was in difference for the 500*l.* was confessed to be paid, and it is more suspicious, because they offered proof here where we could not hear it, and did in the Lords' house where they do hear witnesses.

Resolved upon question, the proviso shall be added that the son shall not take advantage of the attainder of the father, and if Sir Walter Raleigh had been living it had been justice, and the law would have compelled him upon his covenant to have a farther and good assurance, and his son shall not be in better case.

June 20th 1628.

Voted upon question that the imposition of 4*d.* upon a quarter of malt in London and within four miles was a grievance as well in the creation as in the execution, especially being of a native commodity, which King James was willing to have made a law against all impositions being native.

A petition for the privileges granted to planters in the Somers Islands, and for easing them of impositions set upon the tobacco.

With other petitions presented to his Majesty in the name of the Commons in the behalf of them.

And moved that all new matters may be forborne being this sessions growing towards an end, and the things now in hand may be perfected.

Moved that a petition may be prepared to his Majesty to show the inconvenience of calling men of 40*l.* land to be knighted, and to desire that they may not be troubled for their appearance.

Sir Thomas Wentworth reports that a commission or patent was granted to one Levett for taking toll of every 20 cattle 6*d.* every pack horse ½*d.*, &c., for sheep at Willa bridge and Firre bridge, and they found that the bridges were in good repair at the time of the patent granted, and other towns were bound to their repair, and so they adjudged a grievance both in the creation and execution, and a petition ordered to be drawn to present to the King.

Title to the petition exhibited by the Lords spiritual and temporal and the Commons in this present Parliament assembled, concerning divers rights and liberties, with the King's royal assent in full parliament.

Wherein Sir Edward Coke observed at the conference that writs are to be sent to the Common Pleas and Exchequer, but to the Chancery and King's Bench there are no writs directed. For the Chancery is *coram domino rege in cancellaria*, and the King's Bench is *coram domino rege ubicunque fuerit*; and the chancellor ought to deliver it to the chief Justice *propriis manibus*, and then that makes it a record as well as if it were removed by *certiorari mittimus*, or any other way, and the Chancellor is to receive it *propriis manibus*.

Mr. Banks in the chair for the bill of tonnage and poundage; and Mr. Dawes' information.

The subsidy upon the book of rates comes to about 150,000*l.* per annum. The imposition is about 45,000*l.* per annum, which is upon lead, tin, and baize, and to be deducted out of this last 25,000*l.* per annum for defalcations.

Sir Dudley Digges moves that we should all join to desire his Majesty for a recess, that we may upon our next meeting consider of some things for the settling of the King's revenue, and to go on with a proposition made and approved touching the settling of some plantation and trade in the West Indies.

Sir Edward Coke: I will undertake if superfluous expenses in the household, wardrobes, the Court of the Duchy to be united, the Court of York taken away, which I hope the Yorkshiremen will have wit enough to desire, the Courts in Wales and such like; and it appears by 6 Edw. III. n. 4, 50 Edw. III. n. 5 et n. 26, that this hath been done in former parliaments, to look into the King's revenues, the Court of Wards, and Forests. But I would not have a message sent to know of the King how long.

Sir Miles Fleetwood: I will make it appear and undertake to raise a constant revenue to the King out of the Court of Wards, the Forests, and Recusants, which yield not to the King now 60,000*l.*; and I dare say and undertake to raise at least 250,000*l.* per annum.

Sir Robert Pye: I desire that no man may go out of the House with that opinion that any such sum may be raised, and let us not propose much and fall to little or nothing; and I think they are projectors who are to make great show and perform little.

21st June 1628.

Mr. Banks' report of Sir Edward Sayer, and shows the examination of Mr. Dawes, and Sir Edward Sayer's answers, which was that Sir Edward Sayer came to Mr. Dawes to move him to join with him to make a new book of rates, which Dawes denying and saying it was a difficult thing, the other replying said it was easy to be done by making 1*s.* 2*s.* throughout the book.

He answers that he said that in some things the book of rates might be made double, but not in all; and that he doth not remember he said that 1*s.* might be made 2*s.*, and he said that what he had done in this he did it by the King's command, which the Committee conceived to be no warrant for him to do anything against the law, but that he might have answered his Majesty so.

The King's message by Mr. Solicitor, that he understanding that Sir Edward Sayer was questioned, that his Majesty did out of his desire to be informed of the Customs and the book of rates and so commanded them two to inform him of it, and how it stood.

Doctor Mannering's submission, he acknowledging it at the Bar his high offence to God, the King and Commonwealth.

Dawes said further that Sir Edward Sayer came to him and asked him if he were not sent for by the House, and he said no. Then Sir Edward Sayer said that if he were he answered not upon oath, and therefore he needed not to say anything of this business which passed betwixt them. (He denies the last part of this.) And he said further that Sir Edward Sayer said to the King before him that he might make one shilling 2 through the book of rates, and he was the projector if any were. (He appeals to the King for this.)

This reported to the House.

Sir Edward Coke: He being a member of this House, and dissuading men from true and plain dealing with this House, it is against the liberty of this House, and to disparage this which is the general inquisitor for the whole kingdom, which if it be neglected all is nothing.

(8 Eliz., Long's case, turned out of the House.) And therefore moves that he may be cast out of the House, and sent to the Tower, to remain there during the pleasure of this House.

This resolved upon question.

Selden: The jurisdiction of our House is properly of the members of our House, and upon those that offend against the House; and therefore though he be put out of the House, yet being an offence against the House, he may be kept in the Tower during the pleasure of the House.

And resolved: That Sir Edward Sayer is unworthy to sit ever again in this House.

23rd June 1628.

A letter sealed and put under the door, with directions to this House, and superscribed with this, "Cursed be he that doth not deliver this letter"; and disputed whether this letter should be first viewed by the Speaker, or by a certain number of the House; and resolved that a Select Committee to withdraw into the Committee Chamber to consider whether it be fit to be read in the House, and if it be not, to give some general reason why it should not.

Sir Edward Coke reports it not fit to be read, for it is a Jesuitical and devilish plot, and something which is not fit touching his Majesty's person, which upon the reading but of one line we thought it not fit for the eye of any subject to look upon it, and therefore we read no further of it, and thought it fit to send it to the King to deliver it to His Majesty's own hand: and so ordered.

Sir William Fleetwood reports the opinion of the Committee touching the petition of the goldsmiths against the exchangers of money.

The points were two: First, if the commission were legally granted and if there be any such granted. Secondly, of the inconvenience, which was proved by many merchants, by prohibiting them to sell to the goldsmith, for if they carry it to the Mint the goldsmith must first make it fit for the standard in the Tower, and there they lose.

Secondly, If we carry it to the Exchanger we cannot have so much by 6*d.* an ounce as of goldsmiths, and there being 30 ounces in a £100, they lose 15*s.* in £100; and so they bring no bullion over now as they used to do, and if they do, but very little.

Thirdly. They cannot get money of the changers for it, and upon this for the inconvenience of it the Committee resolved that it was a grievance in the execution, and for the legal part they left it to the House to judge, there being then no lawyers, (but they found that the Mint was lessened the last year by it £150,000).

For matter of law, there was no opinion in it, nor voted.

Mr. Speaker said the King's care was only that no inconvenience should be, and he granted only *officium cambii.*

Mr. Banks touching the legality of it: I think it illegal as it is granted; for when there is negative words in it as that none shall buy any bullion, that is not good.

Mr. Noy reports the Act for continuance, repeal and making perpetual divers acts and statutes. Only 4 Hen: VIII. proposed to be revived, for making bulwarks by the sheriff or Justices of Peace.

p. 1 Eliz., fry of fish; 13 Eliz., touching ecclesiastical livings; 3 Jac., for avoiding delays in executions; 21 Jac., usury; these made perpetual.

Omitting 24 Hen. VIII. breeding of cattle; 3 Ed. VI. 5 Eliz., for cattle: by question resolved these to be omitted from continuance.

43 Eliz. additions, for the taking of prentices (7 Jac. for repairing the sea banks in Norfolk) not resolved, but respited. This continued to the next sessions, and not to the next sessions of parliament.

Repeal 16 Hen. VIII. and all but 1 Hen. VII. touching liveries.

Revive 4 Hen. VIII. for making of bulwarks. Upon question not revived.

The bill engrossed.

A message from the King that upon Thursday next he meaneth to make a sessions, and then to prorogue it to October next, when if please God we shall meet again. This delivered by the Chancellor of the Duchy.

Banks his reasons for his former opinion of the grievances of the exchangers, both in creation *et* execution.

9 Hen. V. 2, 9 Ed. III. cap. 2. These statutes no power for the merchants to make a trade of it, and they do not prohibit him.

18 Edw. III. cap. 6.

3rdly. It is matter of trust, and this granted for years; if he die, the trust shall be in nobody to administration, and then peradventure committed to a woman, or a child.

4. It requires skill, and he hath license to execute it by deputy, and they may have no skill.

Selden: This consists of a patent, indentures and proclamation, upon the patent and indenture, the patent recites that it belongs to the King to have the power.

In the body it is to have the said power and office of the exchangers, according to the indentures, and in the indentures the King covenants with the Lord of Holland and his deputies that he shall have the sole exchange of money and bullion. For the first part, for the exchange of money, there was and is such an office, and it is lawful, and it is called *officium cambii*, and this appears by the Charter 20 Hen. I. 35; and this was in King John's time, and Fleta said that that belongs only to the King.

25 Edw. III. printed est dit none shall exchange money but the King's exchanger.

3 Hen. VII. cap. 6, and so much as only toucheth matter of money it is not against the law, but yet I think it is void because it is in another. But for the exchange of bullion, which he hath by growth or imported, by the common law this might be sold in any other place as other merchandize might, if it have not the King's coin of it, for that *vide* Domesday, *tyle homme tyent* by such service, and white money; and in Hen. II *temps* in rents, that the sheriff brought them in either in mass or bullion, which shows that bullion was not (f. 82 Dyer) then appropriated, but it went as other commodities did, &c.

9 Hen. VII. f. 16, *in det sur ob.* to pay *aurum purum, quod monster q. c. fuit bullion.*

This appears by the common law, and how it is any way altered by the statute that is to be seen for that which concerns this is 9 Edw. III. differ in the French from the English, which sets men at liberty for gold to sell it where they will.

4 Hen. VII. a restraint from the goldsmith not to buy gold; which needed not if the King's exchanger had had the sole power. This toucheth only gold, so silver seems to belong to them, though 9 Edw. III. says that all bullion brought in shall be brought to the exchanger, yet this doth not exclude him from selling to others in the negative.

If there be a penal law it is true the King may pardon it, but he may not dispense with it by the statute of 21 Jac: of dispensation; therefore so much as concerns the restraint of bullion to the exchanger, it being or amounting to a penal law, the Kings patent and indentures is a dispensation, and so void by 21 Jac.

The confirmation of the pardon brought in by Mr. Attorney as a message from the Lords.

Sir Robert Pye. The mint hath raised to the King sometime 7000*l.* per annum, and upon such occasion it hath come down to 1500*l.*

Am[brose ?] Browne: It is a monopoly, and not excepted out of that statute.

Resolved upon question, that the patent accompanied with the indentures and proclamations were a grievance both in the creation and execution.

Ordered that the bill of tonnage and poundage and a bill for arms to be first set in some forwardness.

New stamps for gold made ready for new coining, and the meaning is the pound weight to be made into more pieces.

Tuesday [afternoon] the 23rd of June.

The House resolved into a committee, Mr. Banks in the chair, touching a way for the bill of tonnage and poundage, and impositions.

Sir Robert Phillips: Since 12 Jac.: we have scarce made our claim to our right for the grievance of our impositions, for before there was no sound complaint but presently there was redress.

The [blank].

Sir Edward Coke: This case is of more weight than difficulty. There is *custuma magna et parva et antiqua et nova;* and the custom consists of wool, wool fells, leather.

Rotuli parliamentorum 3 Edw. I. rotuli patentium 3 Edw. I. m. 1. 26 Edw. III. returna brevium; 25 Edw. I, confirmationes cartarum printed. All these ancient customs and new are proved to be granted by act of parliament by the Commons as appears by those statutes before; and it is not said to be granted by the Lords. So that the King hath nothing of right without the grant by act of parliament.

25 Edw. III. because wool was turned into cloth therefore the King can have no subsidy upon them.

13 Hen. IV. n. 18, for maintaining of Calais etc., the King could lay no impositions.

Every king of England hath taken our grant of the subsidy for tonnage or poundage: if could lay impositions what needed he take it by act of parliament. Since we have no time to settle it we have no way but to set down our birthright, and in a humble petition to desire his Majesty not to take it without an act of parliament

Sir Nathaniel Rich: In 13 of Henry IV, it was but granted for years, as for one, two, three or more; and with this condition, that the King should not take it as a right, nor to make a precedent. And therefore I would not have the King to conceive it to be his right, but the love of his subjects.

Carew: If we go by way of petition or remonstrance of our right, and to desire our right may not be infringed, and then to have it infringed, whether it will not be more prejudice to us than [if] we never had made it; for to have a violation of that which we claim to be our right is a negation and a denial of it.

Selden: I shall less doubt this infringing than anything; and whereas it is said that in 1 Eliz.: in the preamble, that the Kings of England have ever had this bill of subsidy of *tonnagium et pundagium* for life, for this it is not well applied if it be looked upon.

Sir John Finch: I delivered a message to the King which might peradventure be mis-conceived, for that the end was to know when we should have a recess, and though it would be here conceived that word

to be properly intended that to be an adjournment, yet by many wise men it is conceived and so taken to be a prorogation.

Resolved upon question, that a committee shall draw up a remonstrance of our right and the undue taking of the subsidy of tonnage and poundage without act of parliament, and the reasons why we cannot now grant it.

Bowdler's case.

Mr. Selden reports the matter touching Bowdler a bastard, wherein he showeth that Mr. Bowdler being a bastard died intestate. The judge of the Prerogative Court Sir Henry Martin, hath got almost all the personal estate; and it consists of these three parts:

1st. The proceeding in the Exchequer Court. He thus dying Sir Edward Warden and Ford being the next of kin came and obtained letters of administration, this to be *pendente lite*. After this the Attorney General sues in the Exchequer for the King, setting out that those goods which no man else hath property in, the King ought to have them, and to dispose of them. After this a subpœna awarded, and the same day an injunction to the ordinary not to grant administration, and to the administrators enjoined not to meddle as administrators, and then a commission and commissioners appointed by Mr. Attorney to collect up the debts of the intestate, and they to keep this personal estate for the King's use.

The defendants appear upon the subpœna and demur upon the bill, showing he was no bastard, and meant to make that the point of the issue; but before publication, upon a motion it was ordered that a case upon the general matter should be made, whether a bastard dying intestate should not have his goods to be to the King and this was a project to bring all dying intestate to be subject to the judgment of this case. After this a petition was made to the King to refer it to all the judges in England: and so it resteth.

2ndly. How the personal estate now stands, that is being to the value of 3000*l.* and all in bonds except only the value of 20*l.*

3rdly. For the projector (one Bland as it was thought), who being a principal prosecutor of this matter is a principal witness.

Mr. Wilde: For matter of law in this case, I think it clear the King hath no property in the personal estate of a bastard dying intestate. For admit he were no bastard, and so dying, the ordinary hath the sole power for committing administration, and that is given either by the common law or by the statutes of 31 Hen: III. 31 Edw: III. and these statutes give it to those who are lawfully akin, not tainted with any blot or crime. And if it cannot be committed to them, then we must resort to the common law, and then the ordinary hath disposing to pious uses.

Sir Edward Coke: The question is admitting him to be a bastard and dies intestate, if that King shall have the goods or no.

1. The King claims it as supreme ordinary to dispose of it. And if he cannot have it so, then he claims by pretence of property, *quia est nullius filius*, having no hereditary blood. (I never heard the like.)

There is no book of the law that speaks of bastards dying intestate, but of dying intestate generally.

In rot. clausarum, 7 Hen: III. m. 16, the goods of the intestate were wont to be taken into the hands of the King, and it is true, for his debts &c. And this did not belong to the King but to the lords of manors, as appears by many books, and in these 2 Ric: III. p. 11, Hen: VII. f. 12 b. These belonged to the lords and not to the ordinary, nor the King; and they had only the disposing by way of administration, and not any

property in it. So the supreme ordinary is gone, for it is gone to the ordinary as appears by Grisewell's case in (Common Pleas ?) : The ordinary hath the property, as the statute of Westminster the second saith in express words, and he must pay the debts. For hereditary blood (31 Edw : III.) in Croft's case in 21 Eliz : they adjudged the King shall not meddle with the goods of an alien, *à fortiori*, not in the case of a bastard ; it concerns all the sons of Adam.

21 Hen. VIII

This commodity hath a common lawyer that he doth not commonly die without children and intestate.

Mr. Noy : The names of projectors are now turned to proposers. The inconvenience is great, for if the ordinary say he made a will the Exchequer may say he died intestate. The goods should be subject to two jurisdictions, and if they go to the ordinary he is subject to an action of debt, while if it come into the Exchequer I know not what remedy he hath against the Court.

2ndly. It is not needful that they be akin, for his friends shall administer ; nay he hath natural kindred, though he have neither wife nor children, yet his mother and her kindred are sure akin, and natural kindred is sufficient.

For 7 Hen. III., that the King shall take the goods of the intestant into his hands, that is if the party be indebted, and he shall only hold them till he know who shall pay them. The statute of Westminster, the second, gives debt, but if the King shall have them, who shall have debt against him ?

Resolved upon question that of bastards dying intestate the ordinary ought to commit administration as in the cases of other persons.

Resolved upon question, upon the report of Mr. Ratcliffe, that the prohibiting of the King's subjects from fishing at Greenland by the Muscovia Company is a grievance to the subjects ; and this to be drawn up in a petition to be presented to the King.

The 25th of June 1628.

The bill for Brumfield and Yare to make the tenants of those manors freeholders which before had an estate from 40 years to 40 years for ever descendable as land in fee simple, and the King by covenant was bound to make them such estates, and they having given a valuable consideration, it was resolved upon question that this should pass for a law, and this to be a confirmation of their estates, though it was said this was a very dangerous precedent for selling the King's lands.

Hackwell said that he had looked to two bills of resumptions, and there was ever exceptions of those lands for which there was paid valuable consideration, and here was such a consideration, ergo.

But Dudley Digges said that there was a protestation the last parliament that there should be a resumption, and no lands should be confirmed, and but that this was covenanted for an Act of parliament before that time, otherwise if it were for my father I should not agree to it.

A bill for prohibiting children to be sent over the sea with an intent to be popishly bred up in any religious house. This bill passed both Houses.

The bill of continuance, repeal, and making perpetual of divers statutes. Three times read, and passed for a law, and sent to the Lords.

2. 9 Hen. V., cap. : 2, touching the alloy of money.

Mr. Selden moves that since the administrators of Bowdler are bound by bond not to meddle with the goods, and the Prerogative Court bound by the Exchequer not to meddle with them but as they should order, and therefore that it may be intimated to the Lord Treasurer the opinion

of this House that the Ordinary may have the ordinary power as n other cases. But this void.

Ordered all members of the House that have any bills to bring them in to the clerk against the next meeting.

The remonstrance touching the causes of not granting the subsidy of tonnage and poundage, sets forth the greatness of our business, the many interruptions, and now the shortness of the time for an end of this sessions doth prevent, and lest your Majesty might be misinformed that it is a thing due and not of the mere love of your subjects, we are forced out of the duty we owe to you and those whom we represent to make this our humble declaration, that it is the undoubted right of the subject and that agreed to by your Majesty in our petition of right, that no tallage nor tax shall be levied without assent in parliament, therefore we desire your Majesty that nothing may be taken otherwise, and we hope your Majesty will observe it, now knowing it.

And shows how that it will be more prejudicial than if there had been only an adjournment, for then our intended grant would have related to the beginning of the parliament, but now that cannot be. And that is voluntary they show how it hath been sequestered into the hand of your subjects, and upon occasions of war granted and afterwards omitted, to the intent that no claim may be made of right, and that it hath been manifested by divers answers of your progenitors, that it is and hath been accepted as other subsidies of the good will and benevolence of your subjects, which answer is "*Le Roy accept le benevolence de ses subjects*," and it hath but lately granted for life; yet they hope upon their next meeting to settle it in as large and ample manner as may stand with the convenience of trade. And they desire your Majesty not to take it ill of those that refuse to pay without warrant of law.

Resolved upon question that a remonstrance to this purpose shall be presented to the King.

Mr. Noy: All that is taken above the great custom and petty custom is impost that is illegal, and that is the bill of tonnage and poundage &c. or other impost. And I would not have it desired that he should absolutely forbear it, but that he would not have him to take it of right.

Coriton: The end of this is contrary.

Noy: I see the sense of the House is to have this request to his Majesty not to take it. I would have something added, for this three year it hath been taken, and seizure for not payment hath been, but there hath been no judgement given by them knowing it against law. Yet by 14 Edw. III, if any land goods without agreement for them they may be seized for the great custom and little custom, and under that pretence they will keep them for the tonnage and poundage and impositions, therefore if we do not desire that there may be no seizure for any such things but that they may lawfully land their goods paying the customs; but this not added.

Mr. Selden reports the difference betwixt this pardon and 21 Jac., and the differences are of three sorts.

1. Some are pardoned here which are not there.
2. Some things contrary.
3. Some things are pardoned which are also excepted.

In the body here is added for licence of alienation, this relates to 31 of January last.

Except all books against the King.

2. Except all alienations which is as large as the pardon.

4. In larging for liveries and oustertraynes, from 10 Jac.

5. Except more pardon than before, all persons except they be in five prisons (or otherwise restrained of liberty is left out).

6. That all collectors of subsidies &c., are pardoned without time.

7. An exception for not taking of knighthood, never before excepted.

8. Extends to the last King and this, for subsidies.

9. Except all such causes as were appointed to be heard in the Star Chamber during this session of parliament ; and so larger.

10. Except all offences already adjudged in the High Commission or before any other ecclesiastical Court for any deprivation, degradation &c.

11. Except all extortion of clerks &c. added.

12. Except all offences done for buildings inmates in London, being done contrary to the law, and the King's proclamations. This agrees with 21 (but only not thought fit). An omission in the end that this shall be in force to pardon all claiming under the king's letters patents, and this is omitted, and this only refers to the king which belongs to him.

Ordered the House being resolved into a Committee the House shall debate this to-morrow.

The 26th of June.

Upon the reading of the remonstrance for the bill of tonnage and poundage, Mr. Maxwell came with a message from the King that the House shonld go up to him, which they did, and being come, the King said ;—That he had called us to tell us the occasion of the prorogation, and for that he understood we were in making a second remonstrance, and therein we made a false interpretation of his answer to our petition of right, and that it was never his intention to debar himself of the tonnage and poundage which his progenitors had enjoyed and which was his right, and which he would not depart with, and therefore he thought good to let us know his meaning and commanded the judges to take notice of it. Yet to show the true intention to perform his word he will ever preserve it, and that hereafter we shall have no cause to complain ; and this he thought fit to let us know, that no man may go away with a misconception. After this the Speaker presented the bill of subsidy in the name of the Commons as their free gift, and then desired pardon for all errors that hath been committed this parliament, if any there were, and particularly for himself, with a desire that those bills which had passed in both Houses his Majesty would be pleased to give his royal assent. Then was read the titles of the bill for divers abuses committed on the Sabbath ; 2ndly. A bill for prohibiting the sending over any to be popishly bred beyond the seas ; 3rdly. An act touching alehouses ; 4thly. The bill for the continuance and repeal of statutes ; the subsidy for the clergy, with divers particular bills for private men. The public bills had this answer, "*Le Roy le voyt*" ; the private, this, "Soyt faite come est desire." These bills thus passed, the Lord Keeper did prorogue this parliament to the 20th of October next. And this was the end of this Sessions ; with no great content, for they desired an adjournment or recess.

Nota : The pardon not accepted, though the largest, except 21 Jac.

The parliament holden by [*blank*] the 20th of January 1628–9.

The first thing done after prayers, the Clerk read a bill for prevention of corruption in Courts of justice by laying great penalties of those that buy any judicial places ; and also upon them that take or give any reward for effecting anything in question, with a strict oath to be

administered to them which shall receive or have any place of judicature.

Then the Speaker did remember the House of their usual order first to settle all the standing Committees, and the appointing a Committee for priviledges or elections, wherein the House confirmed all those which were before; where note that all things which was before must be again confirmed, or otherwise it is not good.

Mr. Jordan moved to know the pleasure of the House, whether inasmuch as his fellow Burgess was chosen Mayor of [*blank*] whether he might serve here or was tied to attendance there.

Resolved that he should attend here, and all particular service to cease for the general.

21st January.

Mr. Selden moves that a Committee may be named to see whether the petition and answer made by the King be recorded in the parliament Roll and in the Courts of Westminster, as was promised by his Majesty, and also to see what hath been entered in the journal book of the parliament since the ending of the former session. Which upon view was found that the King's speech, which was a comment upon his answer, was added by his command, the consideration of which is referred to Tuesday next, how much herein the privilege of the kingdom and the subjects are infringed. And he reports how all our liberties have been since infringed, by the order in the Exchequer that after a replevin under the great seal, the execution thereof hath been stayed by their order, and in other things, and desires that a Committee may be chosen to seek out wherein the liberties have been infringed, and represent it to the House.

Secretary Coke moves that we should not seek occasions, but rather that they should seek us: for is there not a Committee of the whole House for grievances, and why should we make a particular Committee since there is a general? And I think there is no man here but desires a fair correspondence betwixt the King and his subjects, which if we proceed moderately I doubt not but we shall sooner effect our desires.

Sir John Elliot moves that the printer may be sent for that printed that addition, besides the petition, and answer to know by what authority it was done, since those two were to go alone: which was agreed to.

Much disputed whether to have a standing Committee for to inquire and present the grievances to the House, and wherein the liberties have been invaded.

Sir Dudley Digges: I am jealous that the manner may by sinister constructions mar the matter, which if we be cautious and be not too hasty to seek new ways, which may be thought to be, if we pursue this way to have particulars where the general may do as good service and not be so subject to misinterpretation. And we must not only respect our own intentions, but what constructions others may make of it.

Mr. Price of the same opinion, and tells how that it hath been taken notice of in other places to the great dishonour of the House, to subtract a parliament out of parliament.

Sir William Herbert: This comes near the Spanish Inquisition to make particular inquisitors.

Sir John Elliot excepts against the words, and moves that the gentleman will be more cautious, that he let not such words fall.

Littleton: This is no new way but necessary, for if we should stay to particulars occasioned the consideration, we might lose the matter, and suffer prejudice in the meantime.

Sir Thomas Hoby: I will not say that this is a new way, but this is the course; that if any member of the House prefer a petition to the committee of grievances, he need not set his name to it, but it may come in so by petition. But if a stranger prefer a petition he must have his name to it, and defend it; but since the members have that liberty, it may be better done that way.

Sir Nathaniel Rich: This is no unusual way, and it is not proper for the committee of grievances, for that is proper for the well-being of the subjects; but this doth touch the very being of them, and therefore proper for a proper committee.

And upon his motion:—

Resolved upon question, that the whole House shall be resolved into a committee, to consider all those things wherein the privileges of the subjects have been infringed against the petition of right; and to begin on Tuesday next at 9 o'clock in the morning.

Mr. Norton the printer, being asked by what authority the addition was added to the petition of right and the answer, doth say that he had a warrant, but doth not remember from whom. To prevent any misdealing Mr. Selden, Littleton, &c. appointed to go with him to see the warrant immediately.

23rd [January].

A bill for reversing of a decree in Chancery made against Laurence Lownes, sheweth:—Whereas Peter Bland did for divers considerations convey by bargain and sale, fine and other conveyance, settle to the said Laurence Lownes two manors worth only 200*l.* per annum, and for which he hath paid and secured to be paid above 3000*l.*; and the same estates by a decree in Chancery upon a pretence that the same was got by fraud, and when the said Peter was of sick and weak estate and not of a disposing memory, which as in the bill is alleged was not so as is pretended, and that this is a dangerous precedent to subvert the common conveyance of the land by a decree in equity, which heretofore hath not been: and since the said decree is only reversible by the high House of Parliament it is desired the same decree may be reversed and made void, against the parties for whom it was given; saving to all others their rights, &c.

A question whether a writ for election may be granted by the Lord Keeper in the vacation upon a prorogation, or by the Speaker, or may by both; this referred to the committee of priveleges.

Mr. Rowles reports how his goods were taken for not payment of custom as was usual, though he offered security to pay what was due by law or adjudged by parliament, but his proffer was refused, and [*blank*] said if Mr. Rowles had all the House of Commons in him he would [do] what he did. Where upon he brought a replevin, which [was] got with much ado and delivered it to the sheriff, but the execution was stayed by an order of the Exchequer. Afterward he brought another replevin in London returnable in the hustings, and the officers taking them to deliver them to the party; but they were rescued and so he could not have them. And he had divers other goods which was seized, amounting to the value of 5000*l.* and their own demands was 200*l.*; which in King James's time, when any denial was made they did but seize so much goods as amounted to their own demands, but now they do it with that violence that they take all.

Officers: Worsenam, Dawes, Carmerden, John Baupage, Mease, Rodgers.

Mr. Littleton: Two things are considerable in this; first whether tonnage and poundage be due without act of parliament, and it is clear it is not, and in Edw.: III.'s time it was taken from the King and given to the merchants for the guarding of the seas, and it hath been given for years.

The second thing is whether a parliament man shall not have the privileges for his goods, as well as for his person. For [*blank*]. 18 Edw. I. 12 Edw. IV.

Secretary Coke: I would that we proceed as judges, and not to prejudicate the matter nor to aggravate it; for in weighty matters we ought to be moderate and move slowly, for it may be, though I will not say, that all the things may not be true.

Sir Benjamin Rudyard to the same purpose. Parliament party not to be in love with monarchy.

Moved by Phillips, Coriton, &c. That a special committee may be named to take a particular disquisition and examination touching Mr. Rowles's information.

Mr. Selden: His information consists of two parts; first that which toucheth him as a parliament man, his privilege ought not to be referred to a committee, but for the House to take it upon the relation of the member: and whereas it was said that it may be untrue, that is not parliamentary. And for the other I think it fit to be referred to the committee, as it is a wrong to the subject.

Secretary Coke: That which I said, that it may be, I might be untrue, I might have said it affirmatively, and I pray you that you will have as much credit to one member as to another. But note that he spoke to the question in this speech, otherwise it had been against order.

Resolved that a committee to be named to consider of the information of Mr. Rowles, which toucheth the infringing of the liberty of the subject in general.

Resolved that those officers (*page devant*) to be sent for to answer their contempt to the House touching Mr. Rowles; and also to attend the committee to be examined touching the other matter before, in the Court of Wards this afternoon.

Mr. Selden reports that upon examination of the printers for the first impression without those additions, there were 1500 printed, sitting the parliament and before they were dispersed. The next day after the parliament Mr. Attorney sent for him to his chamber and told him that this impression was not to go out so, and afterward Mr. Attorney sent for him to Whitehall and gave him a warrant for the imprinting of those papers which were pinded together. And the Lord Privy Seal also sent for him to his house, and told him that the first impression was not to be printed alone.

Secretary Coke reports from the King that he avoweth that it was by his warrant and direction, and his Majesty doth avow it.

24th [January].

A message from the King by Secretary Coke.

That the King hath taken notice of a debate amongst us touching the seizure of the Merchant's goods, and willeth, that we should forbear any further dispute till to-morrow at 2 of clock, when the King will speak with both Houses himself in the Banqueting House, of which we are to take notice. To which agreed.

Sir Robert Phillips appointed to sit in the chair for the courts of justice on Tuesday.

25th [January].

An Act for the explanation of a branch of the statute of 3 Jac. for suppressing Popish recusants, and the discovery thereof.

An Act preferred for the confirmation of a decree made in Chancery by the Lord Keeper Lord Coventry betwixt Laurence Lownes and Peter Bland, for which a cross-bill is preferred; which see before.

Serjeant Digges complains of a breach of a liberty of parliament, for that he two days after the last sessions of parliament, the party knowing he was a parliament man, was served by a subpoena in to the Star Chamber, for which he was ordered to be sent for, and also his master which commanded him. *Quod nota*, being upon a prorogation.

An Act sent down by the Lords for the better maintenance of the ministry by disappropriation without license, notwithstanding the statute of mortmain. And those who shall disappropriate any such impropriation shall have the presentation; but if the impropriation be in one hand and the vicarage in another, he which gives the impropriation shall have the first presentation, and he which hath the vicarage the next, and so *vicissim*.

An act for free marriage at any time of the year.

An act for avoiding adultery or fornication, and [*blank*].

26th [January].

Mr. Waller reports how there are divers ships provided with corn and ordnance for Spain our enemies, and considering how advantageous it may be to our enemies and prejudicial to ourselves, which being now raised from 20*s*. to 30*s*., and the ports from which corn comes in time of dearth as Dantzic &c. are shut up, which if we give this power or allow of this we shall be put to a great deal of misery. The consideration whereof is referred to a Committee, and all that will come to voice. Alderman Pace, Ricard are men employed in this service, and are to be sent for to attend the Committee.

Secretary Coke: This business hath been well settled. We know his Majesty hath come a great pace unto us, it is necessary that we go with some paces unto him, to which end I present this bill, which I desire we may give a reading unto it which may give a good satisfaction to other Kingdoms how willing we are to supply and defend him and the kingdom. We know how potent the kings of Spain and France are, there is one danger more added, which is the loss of every sound; nay, the House of Austria hath made themselves masters of all the principal ports of the Baltic sea, and there is now a fleet of 50 ships provided with men and ordnance, for what service it is to be feared. Our gracious King is preparing a fleet, which if this be forward it will much advance the service of the King and the Kingdom.

Sir John Elliot: I do not stand up to retard this business but rather to forward it, which will not be by a present reading but rather by a preparation of other things to give this a freer passage to it, which might otherwise receive some stand. And whereas it is said that this is one of the ordinary means for enabling the King, it is not so, for Fortescue the learned justice says that it was one of the extraordinary means.

Mr. Selden: I think it is against the fundamental liberty of the House to have it read, for since it is truly a bill of subsidy, whether it be fit to be so offered to be read before it hath received any debate in the House, which is not usual to prefer any such bill before debate.

Sir Dudley Digges: It is impossible that this bill should in all things square with the bill of subsidy, for that we see the wisdom of our ancestors to grant it in former [times] for life; and for that principal objection, that it is against the fundamental liberty. I have known that such bills, nay the bill of subsidy, hath been brought in by the King's council.

This being long disputed the bill was not read.

Mr. Rous: This being so well settled, let us consider our right in our religion, which hath been confirmed by the King of Heaven and earth, which hath been so violated and Arminianism so much increased. For if you look upon him, he gives his hand to the papist, he to the pope, who takes the King of Spain by the one hand and the King of Spain [*sic*; France?] by the other hand.

Sir Francis Seymour: I know that what is done in the country is undone in the city touching religion, and the King's name used in it, which is a great scandal to the King's profession and his answer to our petition of religion. And if you will know who is the man that doth this you may; if you do but consider this point you will easily know, nay I think every man that sitteth here doth know it. Herein I have cleared my conscience.

Mr. Coriton: We must look at the route. There are some persons near the King, I mean bishops, that we know not how affected, and it is not Montague or Cosins alone but some others that are actors in it.

Sir R. Phillips: Two things that are to be feared, the one open and public, and that ancient, the other novel and subtle, which is the ready way to subvert religion and to bring alteration. While religion flourished, how prosperous and fortunate hath [been] our enterprises, how well have we agreed in parliament in those times; but since what success have we had in our wars, have our returns been with victory, have we so agreed, have we not had the loss of the hopeful prince, of his most miserable death? and this is God's justice upon us. That we may divert those punishments which God hath justly inflicted upon us, let us humble ourselves before God by fasting and prayer, and to that end let us join to move the King.

Secretary Coke: I have been bold to give sometimes cautions that we should not do anything in religion except that which concerns matter in fact, for other things we know belongs to another place, and not proper for us to be disputed.

Shirland: Though the greatest part of the kingdom be sound, but there be divers particular persons who have the ears of majesty to subvert the settled government; for they put the King on things not lawful, and they weaken him by opposition and make their quarrel the king's, and so set difference betwixt the King and the people, and so to work their own ends.

This resolved to be taken into consideration by the Committee for religion, and all other incidents belonging to religion.

Resolved that a petition shall be drawn to move the King for a fast, and to move the Lords to join with us.

His Majesty's speech in parliament the 24th of January 1628–9.

My Lords and Gentlemen. The care that I have to remove all those rubs that may cause misunderstanding betwixt me and this parliament made me call you hither at this time. The occasion was a particular complaint lately moved in the Lower House. And as for you my Lords of the Higher House I am glad to take this and all other occasions I may, to declare that as you are the nearest in degree so you may be furthest from misunderstanding.

The complaint I speak of is for staying of some men's goods that denied tonnage and poundage. This I am sure may have an easy and speedy conclusion, if my actions and words were rightly understood: for if men did not imagine that I have taken these duties all this while as pertaining to my prerogative, certainly I think they would never have

made any question to have passed them by bill, by which it will both clear my future proceedings and make good my by-past actions; as likewise in my speech, in that part of it the last day of the session that concerned this point, I did not mind to challenge tonnage and poundage as a right, but to show you the necessity and not the right by which I was to claim it; for my intent ever was and yet is by the gift of my people to enjoy it, assuring myself according to your open profession, you want but time, not will to give it me.

Therefore since now there is occasion, I do expect that you do make good your former promises; and by passing of a bill to take away the question that riseth in this matter, whereby the only rub that most troubleth this question will be taken away.

Lastly I do wish that we may not be jealous one of another's actions. For, for my part, if I were given easily to take exceptions, an order made in the Lower House on Wednesday last might have given me some scruple; for by the too large end of that order it might have been understood that you took upon you liberty to be enquirers of men's actions; but when I look to your actions I find you only hear complaints and not seek offences. This I speak to show you how loth I am to make any ill interpretation of your actions. I hope you will likewise give the deaf ear to those that may make any ill rumours of me, that so, we beginning this session with a mutual confidence one of another, we may end it in a perfect good correspondence.

27th [January].

The petition to his Majesty for a public fast and prayer.

A conference desired with the Lords touching this petition which [*blank*].

A message from his Majesty:—Having understood that their remonstrance was called for to take away all doubts, hath sent it, but he hopes that you will go on upon better grounds than before, and he also commanded me to let you know that he expected that you give the bill of tonnage and poundage the precedence before any other business, to take away all difference which may arise betwixt him and his subjects: which if you do not, he shall think that his speech on Saturday, which seemed to be so much applauded, did not take that effect which he expected.

This was occasioned by a report from the committee of religion, that the remonstrance being required there, the clerk made answer that his Majesty sent for him and commanded him to deliver the remonstrance to him.

Sir Walter Earle moves that religion is to be preferred before all things, without which life, liberties, and laws are nothing.

Mr. Waller: I had rather ask the way to any strange place of a plain country carrier who travels that way daily than of any cunning geographer who only discourseth of it, and setteth not a foot that way. And I would have these foxes, these little foxes who cunningly seek to divert the King, and are so dangerous: therefore let us look them out.

Mr. Pym: For popery which is one disease.

1st. How the laws are neglected against recusants.

2ndly. How and by whom the laws are dispensed with, and by whom favoured.

3rdly. How ceremonies are crept in, as at Durham.

For Arminianism which is more subtle and so much more dangerous, and for that if we look to the Articles in Edw. VI., Ridley, 39 Articles in Queen Elizabeth, the Articles agreed at Lambeth, these I call witness for our religion in the affirmative.

Two things upon his Majesty's speeches, which is his profession of it in general; secondly, his desire of union, which if predestination, free will, and general grace, were preached with tenderness. And also to enquire who those be that profess it, and also the countenancers of it, and those that have preached, nay being silenced, in the King's presence, which I think will be proved. And also that it be looked what parliaments have done in former times, and also by whose means and licences books touching that have been printed, and others refused. We know that the Convocation is but a provincial synod, and cannot as now it is bind any man in matter of religion or state. And the High Commission Court we know is derived out of the Houses of Parliament, and therefore can be no hindrance for us to proceed in this matter.

Granting of pardons.

28th [January].

A message from the King:—That he hath taken notice of the debate in this House touching tonnage and poundage, of which he hath given us a sufficient answer, and he expects as before that the bill of tonnage and poundage should have the precedence. And he hath taken notice of the debate of religion, and expects no remonstrance touching that, and moves that we will not fall upon things which concerns us not, and if we do offer anything which is new or not known before, he will take it into due consideration.

Elliot: This often iteration of messages doth hinder us more than anything, and [*blank*].

An extract out of a little book of records of the parliament, 1612, [*sic*] 17 Jac.

1st. A particular of the good laws intended by the Parliament, touching swearing, non-residents and plurality of benefices, that ecclesiastical persons should only use the spiritual sword of exhortation and not the temporal. 18 particulars to be contracted for, for 200,000*l.* per annum to be paid to his Majesty.

Things complained upon and redress required:—

1st. New impositions; not to be taxed without assent of Parliament.

2ndly. That the Commission ecclesiastical enabled by 1 Eliz. cap. 1, may be abridged, that they may not have such large liberty to fine and imprison, not properly belonging to the spiritual jurisdiction.

3rdly. That proclamations be not made to alter or make laws.

4th. That writs of prohibition and other writs be not denied in stay of justice or the common law.

4th. That ancient laws for selling of wine being become impossible there may no license with *non obstantes* for them, but that they may be repealed.

5th. That impositions and letters of licensing alehouses, &c. be suppressed and hereafter avoided.

6th. That the imposition of 12 in a chaldron of coals, being challenged by prerogative, may be forborne, and not to make such dangerous precedents.

29th [January].

The Committee makes a report that they have found upon examination that three ships are freighted with corn and other provision for Spain, by which the enemy will be much strengthened, we much weakened; for [*blank*] hath given 100,000 ducats to the King of Spain, for the bringing of victuals or other manufacture.

Sir Francis Cottington shows how that it is true that such a license was also granted by the King of England for carrying out of manufac-

tures, which hath been and will be to his advantage 100,000*l.*, which how much it will advance the King in these times of necessity I leave it to this House to consider.

The House turned into a Committee, Mr. Pym being in the chair and matter of religion being the matter to be treated of.

Sir Benjamin Rudyerd.

Sir Robert Harlow: I shall be glad to divide the matter into:—

1. What our religion is: the Articles made in 1562 in Queen Elizabeth's time, the Articles made at Lambeth, the Articles in Ireland; King James also by his wisdom and pen in the synod of Dort being solely guided by our example.

2. The danger of our religion is the bringing in of popery and Arminianism; first, by a book written by Mr. Richard Montague, then by one of Doctor Jackson, another by Doctor Cosens, chaplain to the Right Reverend Father the Bishop of Winchester.

The remedies which I shall present are two: first, that we make an unanimous profession of our religion; secondly, that we desire a conference with the Lords to join with us in a remonstrance to represent these persons to the King, that they may have condign punishment. The motives are that the people are drawn for the King's subjection.

Mr. Spencer: I desire and think it fit when any man is accused to name particulars in what part of his book he doth not conform himself to our reformed religion, for I think there be some that oppose that seek to bring in novel opinions.

Sir John Elliot: We are not here to dispute of our religion, for that God be thanked is already settled, and it might bring us into a labyrinth. Whereas it is said by some that it is a parliamentary religion, it is not the true religion because that parliament confirmed it, but the parliament confirmed it because it was true. But one thing I fear in the declaration of his Majesty above all other, for in that we may have our religion at one instant overwhelmed.

From the Convocation, if we consider how it is made, will bring another great fear. King Edward the VI., what he said of the Bishops, that some for sloth, others for luxury, &c. are not fit to sit in those places. We know that at the reading of the Creed in the primitive church men did stand not only bare headed but with their swords drawn to defend their faith, and now we will scarce do one. But for the first let us set down our religion, and then we may know what to take exception at.

Sir Nathaniel Rich: It is an easy thing to see the difference betwixt two opinions, but difficult to know the reasons of the diversity, for the matter of the difference we may take it into consideration, but not the latter.

We do claim, profess and avow for truth the sense of the Articles framed 1562, which were confirmed by Act of parliament, 13 Eliz., 1571, which by the public acts of the Church of England and by general and current exposition of the writers; and we do reject the sense of the Jesuits and Arminians and all others wherein they do differ from us.

Mr. Spencer questioned, for that he said that the Articles of Lambeth were recalled or suppressed by an act of state; and the same questioned by the Queen that the Bishop might incur a premunire; but this with much ado was quieted and proceeded no farther.

That we the Commons assembled in parliament do claim, profess and avow for truth that sense of the Articles of religion which were established by parliament in the 13th Elizabeth, which by public acts of the Church of England and the general and current exposition of the writers

of our Church hath been delivered unto us, and we do reject the sense of the Jesuits, Arminians, and all others wherein they differ from us.

This resolved upon question.

This declaration to be made.

An answer to the King that we cannot yet entertain the reading of the bill of tonnage and poundage.

30th [January].

A petition of John Predian, gentleman, against Henry Alein having preferred a scandalous petition to the King, together with 13 articles containing the most of the Arminian opinions, and accusing the Bishop of Lincoln.

1. Puritan faction to agree *in tertiis* with the Jesuits.

That he defends the rigid opinions of predestination.

That he calleth the petitions of parliament, the petition of puritans.

That he defendeth the opinions of Doctor Mannering, and all the Arminian opinions.

That those sectaries and maligners do especially oppose royal prerogative.

That Justice is no measure betwixt the King and his people.

That he averreth that the writing of his book to be a service to his Majesty, which is Doctor Mannering's opinions.

That the Bishop of Lincoln charged the King with mutability, for giving two diverse answers to the puritans at Oxford.

The House.

The petition of William Jones against the Bishop of Winchester. Whereas divers opinions maintained by Mr. Montague against the tenets of our church, upon proclamation for the confirming of him Bishop of Winchester if any would prefer any Articles against him to show why he should not be confirmed, the said William Jones preferred divers Articles against him for the writing of divers books against the religion professed, yet notwithstanding he was confirmed; which illegal confirmation and his new broached opinions he desire you will be pleased to take into your pious consideration, and so to do as you shall think fit.

Sir Henry Martin: The form of election of bishops is after a *congé d'élire*, which is license to the Dean and chapter to choose, yet they must choose who the King shall name, and who shall speak against this election or confirmation shall incur a *præmunire*. And it is likewise true that proclamation is made if any will speak against his election he may, but yet he shall not; when they go to choose the bishop they pray that the Holy Ghost should direct them, yet shall choose such a one as is named. And I wish this ceremony might be left, for the form is as if they were free, but yet they are bound.

Selden: The form of choosing of bishops being altered by the statute of 25 Hen. VIII, cap. 20, by which first letters missive by the King were sent to the Dean and Chapter to signify who he will have chosen, and then a *congé d'élire* to choose such a one, and then for the Archbishop to confirm him. But he taketh the meaning of this Act not to exclude exceptions which are legal, but make that a *præmunire* when refusal is made without such due exception. 25 Hen. VIII. Cap. 20.

Doctor Eaton saith that before this statute the King did nominate as now, as this statute was properly made for confirmation.

But he saith that the reason as he hath heard for which the articles were not accepted of against him was, because there was no advocate's hand unto them, therefore they were illegal.

Ordered that this dispute shall be referred to another time, for to be argued by both lawyers of the House.

Mr. Speaker in the Chair.

The petition read which Predian preferred to the King and the articles which were preferred against the Bishop of Lincoln.

He is called in and examined touching the petition, and the articles which he confesseth, and that it was his own handwriting, but denieth any encouragement that he had from any, and also that he intended puritans to be only Nonconformist.

January 31st.

Mr. Pym in the chair;

Resolved that matter of Arminianism shall be first taken into consideration and debated.

Sir Nathaniel Rich: The better to find out those of that sect, we must know what the public acts of the Church are, and then we shall know those that dissent from them. And for the first I think these to be public acts of the Church.

1st. Catechisms made and confirmed by Act of Parliament. Selden accord.

2nd. The Articles of 13 Eliz., and the Common Prayer book are public Acts of the Church.

3rd. The Articles of Lambeth.

Selden said that that could not be a public act of the Church, for that cannot be a public act which is not done by a public authority, for such an assembly cannot be any such act of the Church. Nor can I call as hath been said the Synod of Dort, nor the Articles of Ireland, nor the doctrine of the Church of Scotland, nor the readings in the Universities, which be things without authority; for if they be not true and not agreeable then they should bind us, which we would not then agree to, therefore we must be cautious what we make to be the public acts of the Church.

Bills sent down by the Lords.

1. An Act for the better preserving his Majesty's revenues.
2. An Act for the advancement of trade.
3. An Act for the taking into execution those which shall be delivered by privilege of parliament.

The Articles of Lambeth, 1595.

1. That God hath predestinated certain men unto life, certain reprobated unto death.
2. The moving or effectual grace of predestination unto life is not the foresight of faith, or of perseverance, or of good works, or of anything in the persons predestinated, but only in the will of the well pleased God.
3. There is a definitive and certain number of the predestinated, which can neither be augmented nor diminished.
4. Those who are not predestinated to salvation shall be necessarily damned for their sins.
5. A true living and a justifying faith and the Spirit of God justifying is not extinguished, it faileth not, it vanisheth not away in the elect either finally or totally.
6. A man truly faithful, that is such a one as is endued with a justifying faith, is certain with the full assurance of faith of the remission of his sins, and of his everlasting salvation by Christ.
7. Saving grace is not given, is not communicated, is not granted to all men, by which they may be saved if they will.

8. No man can come unto Christ unless it shall be given unto him, and unless the Father shall draw him; and all men are not drawn by the Father, that they may come to the Son.

9. It is not in the will of every one to be saved.

These were the conclusions of the Reverend prelates and learned Doctors heretofore, then cursed be all turbulent Arminian innovators, who dare impugn them now.

Put forth by Mr. William [Prince ?] of Lincolns Inn.

February 3rd.

An Act for advancing of trade, that all merchants or traders may sell or transfer over bonds, bills or other specialties, without penalty, by a deed sealed and signed, and the assignee to have as full property and as good remedy as though the bill or specialty had been made to him.

An Act for the naturalizing of the Lady Strange, who was a Frenchwoman, and daughter to a peer of France, now a professor of this religion.

The King's reply to our answer touching the bill of tonnage and poundage.

Mr. Pym in the chair.

Sir John Elliot moves that for the manner of our proceedings we may not seem to make or give any jealousy to that cause we have in hand being without question, but that first we seek and fall upon them, and make our charge on them which have erred from our profession, and then the Articles of Lambeth will come in as evidences against them, for a constant profession of the same.

[February 9.]

Sir John Elliot reports the proceedings touching the petition of the merchants for tonnage and poundage, and that Sheriff Acton being examined answered so as was thought fit the Committee should desire this House that he may be sent for to the House to answer his contempt.

Doctor Steward's argument touching the confirmation of the Bishop of Winchester.

Two questions whether the exceptions exhibited were legal or not.

Secondly, whether exceptions legally put in do make the confirmation good, yea or no, and if they be to be ready to be proved, I think then they do disable him.

Third, what should ensue if it should be void, yet should not lose his bishopric, but he should be in the same state as he was before the confirmation.

Doctor Tawbott's argument.

Two kinds of exceptions against persons to be elected bishops. 1st in respect of the person elected; and 2ndly the manner of election.

1st for the person. There be crimes which are called *delicta graviora*, and if those things which touch matters of religion be such, which I will not dispute but must leave, then the exceptions be legal, and so his confirmation not good.

For the second question propounded:—because confirmations were had repentively [*sic*], it was ordained that proclamation should be made, that if the confirmation were not litigious they should be confirmed after such citation or proclamation. A Constitution of Justinius that exceptions propounded and not allowed do make ordinations void, and by the same reason it doth make confirmations.

And though there be no nullity ordained in the law, yet when the law appoints a form which is not observed, that makes a nullity in itself.

Sir Henry Martin's answer:—that if the exceptions be proved that these do as well extend to the election itself as to the confirmation.

Sir Henry Martin: Since 25 Hen. VIII. we proceed in a strict form of which he hath a copy, from which he doth not swerve, and this doth differ from the Canon Law, for after a bishopric become void, and the king sends letters missive to the dean and chapter, and if they choose within 12 days then a confirmation is necessary; if they do not, then the king may present by his letters patents without confirmation.

And not that what privilege the pope had before 24 Hen. VIII. the king had given by act of parliament, and upon the presentation by the pope, there was no exception to be taken, and so continued to Queen Elizabeth's time, which in 1 and 8 Eliz. was thought fit to be altered.

And that it was convenient thus to be, the parliament in 25 Hen. VIII. found what difference there was in cathedral churches by such exceptions; and therefore to put an end to such differences the king had this conferred upon him.

Now for the first exception, without relation to the statute, for it is true that such citation is not to be set but on the church where the bishop is to go to, for betwixt the bishop and those persons of that church they are of that fold, and so a privy betwixt them, but those that are not of that fold they have nothing to do in it.

And a nullity doth not go further than the express words, and not by implication. And a refusal of exceptions though they be legal cannot make a nullity. But things that have been so long used, it is not good in my opinion to dispute it further.

Doctor Steward prefers a petition that proceedings in law may be stayed against him.

12th [February].

Mr. Sherfield in the chair. Wherein is taken into dispute, touching the bill of tonnage and poundage, with all the incidents unto it: and therein as an incident the judgment to stay the execution of a replevin for the delivery of the goods, and also the information in the Star Chamber against the merchants sitting the parliament. For the first the Judges have two capacities, one judicial, another extra-judicial. We know the common case: the Judge seeth one man kill another and the jury findeth another; the judge being asked what he would do in this case, who answered he might give judgment according as the jury found, but he would move the king to pardon him; who much commended the uprightness of the law. And this case in the Exchequer: here was an affidavit true in one respect but false in another, but they gave their judgment according to the matter before them. The words were, that the customers took it for duties due to the king, which might be true and false. But when we send to them to inform them truly it may be reversed, and then the replevin may have its proceedings, for they have now declared that those duties were intended for tonnage and poundage, which cannot be any duty due, but there might be some old customs which might be said duties.

13th [February].

Resolved that those who have petitions or bills depending shall have privilege for their persons during their prosecution.

And the consideration whether such persons that have a cause depending and process served on him [*sic*] shall be void.

Ordered upon question that signification should be given to the Lord Keeper, that inasmuch as Mr. Foulkes, Mr. Phillips, Mr. Gillman are to have privilege of their person, that no attachment shall issue out whereby their persons may be in danger of arrest.

Doctor Moore's relation of the Bishop of Winchester's speech.

That he going to him after some conference had said that he had heard him preach some pretty things against papists in King James his time, but he must not do so now.

That you have a brother that preacheth against bowing at the name of Jesus and the altar.

For changing the communion table, which he commanded, for he said that the table before stood like a table in an alehouse.

In private houses crosses used by napkins and profaning it by setting cups of wine, beer, ale, at every corner.

14th [February].

A Committee to consider whether the Lords may receive a complaint and give judgment against any Commoner, unless he be first questioned and transferred from the House of Commons.

Mr. Pym in the Chair.

Sir Thomas Hoby reports that the prisoners taken at Clerkenwell suspected to be popish priests, one of them was condemned for treason, and a warrant from the Lord Chief Justice to reprieve him. And for the other nine who refused the oath of allegiance [they] were discharged and released by a warrant from the Lord of Dorset.

Secretary Coke's Report.

Upon January last Humphrey Crosse gave intelligence to me how that great provision was carried into a house where nobody dwelt.

And upon warrant to search the house they found one Laythome who pretended to be the keeper of the house for the Earl of Shrewsbury, and they found therein vaults and cellars in lurking places.

That they are Jesuits and priests as appears by their books, reliques, copes, their founders, their provision of [*blank*].

Domus probationis sancti Ignatii societatis Jesus.

The order for government.

2. A special direction from the provincial congregation and Father Blunt, for the government.

A note how to answer any questions touching religion.

And a note of all the papists in the province, and how they are summoned.

The Bishop of Chalcedon made governor.

16th [February].

Mr. Hilton of Westmoreland his petition against Sir John Savill for his goods taken away, being a man conformable, and desires redress. A committee appointed for the examination of it, in which the knights and burgesses for Westmoreland are, and Thursday next the day appointed.

Another petition against Sir Henry Martin, for converting a great part of the personal estate of one Browne, who died worth 50,000*l*. This referred to the Committee of Justice.

Sir Henry Martin reports, how that Mr. Recorder sent no warrant for the reprieve of the priest condemned, but my Lord Chief Justice had a warrant from the King's mouth immediately.

But moved by Mr. Stroud that my Lord Chief Justice was to answer this, and that he should have had more than words but a warrant.

Mr. Chancellor of Duchy said that it was no new thing for a judge to reprieve any man, much more for the Lord Chief Justice, and having the King's direction. But he thought that he had reprieved him upon a declaration of Star Chamber that judgment should be given, and then to be sent to Wisbech to be there imprisoned.

Sir Francis Seymour reports what answer Mr. Attorney gave them who were to examine him. But first they went with Mr. Long, who showed them a letter from Mr. Attorney that he should prosecute those men at sessions, viz., against those three, viz. Weden, Moore, and Parr as priests only, and to tender the other the oath of allegiance, and if they denied to proceed to their conviction.

And going to Mr. Attorney to his house, he, upon questions made, answered thus;—that he had a warrant from Council Board for the prosecuting against those priests, but that warrant appeared to be against them as priests or Jesuits. And for the bonds which he took for their appearance he had them, but he could not deliver them till he had acquainted the King with it.

Mr. Long, being examined, saith that he offering at the sessions to the bench to give in evidence, by papers which he conceived would much induce to give the court and jury satisfaction that they were priests, and that would prove that this was *domus probationis*, and that my Lord Richardson asked him if he had anything to prove priest or no priest, he might speak to it, if not it was but discourse.

Mr. Secretary Coke observes that these evidences were denied, and so they were cleared, but these afterwards being given in evidence for the seizing them for the King, they were found guilty, and the goods seized.

Mr. Selden said that a replevin was grantable out of the Exchequer.

17th [February].

My Lord Chief Justice, being examined, said that he doth not remember any further evidence offered by Mr. Long against the priests which was refused; but he remembers that Mr. Long had certain papers in his hand, but whether it concerned this matter or no he knew not.

My Lord Richardson saith that no papers were read or pressed to be read by Mr. Long that he remembers; but it may be he did not hear all that that was spoken.

Mr. Justice Jones saith being demanded, that Mr. Long offered papers to be read, but whether they were or not he doth not know, but one of the Judges said that if it was not to prove them priests it were not material.

Justice Whitlocke likewise saith under his hand, that there were no papers offered by Mr. Long after I came.

Justice Crook saith the same.

19th [February].

Mr. Dawes examined, confesseth that he knew Mr. Rowles to be a parliament man, but he never heard that a parliament [man] was freed for his goods for duties to the King, and he had a commission for the taking of those duties which was paid in King James his time. And for his exposition what he meant by duties he had directions from the King by mouth that he should make no explanation what was intended by this.

Disputed whether those customers shall be proceeded with to be censured for delinquency.

The Chancellor moves that it may be weighed for a time; for I fear since they had the King and Council's command for this, if we censure them it may be thought it is censuring the King's command, which if it be said *actum est de imperio;* which he being called to explain said, that no man will obey the King's command hereafter. Said on the other side, that this doth not reflect upon the King. And resolved upon question, that the further consideration shall be taken of it.

23rd [February].

The House resolved into a Committee, Mr. Herbert in the chair. The question to be disputed was, whether Mr. Rowles being a member of this House was to have privilege for his goods which were taken for duties to the King: but upon proof that the King, if he had any right, had granted over by lease to the customers rendering 150,000*l.* per annum, and though there was a covenant under the signet manual that what wanted of that the King should bear the loss, yet this did no ways take the interest of the customers if the King had any; and so the question was properly betwixt one subject and another, and did no ways reflect whether a subject should have privilege for his goods against the King, (though as afterward it may appear it was conceived one might, though this question was declined.)

First Mr. Littleton. That Mr. Rowles shall have privilege for his goods as well as for his person, appears by divers authorities both ancient and modern.

And first; the ground of all privilege is for the general good, and the great respect that is of it appears by 31 Hen. VI, that the Judges thought it too high a thing to give their opinion in.

And for authority in it, in 18 Edw. I, that both lands and goods are privileged; and so it is in 18 Ric. II, upon a petition in the parliament house that one might distrain for rent, it was denied, as it is said, quia inhonestum videtur.

Vide 7 Edw. II. close roll, membrane [*blank*].

17 Edw. IV, parliament roll, articulo 35. That no man being a member shall be touched in person or goods, in coming, staying, or going to or from parliament.

5 Edw. IV, rotuli parliamenti, numero 78. Cheder's case, it was petitioned that if any man killed a parliament man or his servant it might be treason, and for striking or suing other penalties ("q̄ le inferance del c").

9 Hen. IV. f. 1°. And in rotuli parliamenti, numero 71, in "un "petition q̄ leur serants ne pot estre arest pr dett accōūpt &c., Le "answer fuit p le Roy, q̄ fuit remidie dent."

8 Hen. VI, 31 Hen. VII, Thorpe the Speaker "fuit arest in temps "del ꝓgation del ꝑlent," and was not delivered upon petition because he was arrested without time of privilege of parliament.

34 Hen. VIII, et 36 Hen. VIII, "q̄ pr un condemnation in dett "&c. dent le ꝑlement, ne serra trouble ou arrest pr c."

1 Car., Sir Edward Coke "ad ꝑvilidge del ꝑlent, mes est q̄ in temps "del vacation, null home ad privilidge mes pr les jors del vacation q̄ sont "16 jors all myens."

"Mes nota q̄ in 29 Eliz. in le case del un Martine le reasonable temps del privilidge fuit reduce all 20 jours."

36 Hen. VIII, "le case del Carūs, q̄ serra privilidge pur byens vers "le Roy, et fuit dit q̄ pr un rt dew all Roy, ne serra un distresse pr c. "durt le temps del ꝑlement."

In 12 Jac. "suites in le Starchamber q̃ sont les suites del Roy serra " staye p^r privilidge; ut in le case del Senior Clare, et S^r Symiond " Steward et est valde frequent."

12 Eliz. " Le case del Johnes ad son privilidge p^r byens, q̃ fueron " delin̄ a lui apris seisure."

" Et fuit le darien plement adjudge in le house de Seniors q̃ un del " leur servants auera privilidge p^r son byens."

" Et in le case in question Selden dit q̃ Icy home nad privilidge les Seniors nad ascun privilidge p plement, car leur psons sont privilidge sans c̃ ; q̃ fuit absurd.

2ndly. Cest case est enter subject et subject (et issent le privilidge p^r byens vers le Roy est wave in cest question q^d nota) p^r c̃ cy le Roy ad intrest in les coustomes c̃ passa p les leases cy monstre avant, et null covenant q̃ est add q̃ ills ne serra lousers prendera leur intrest ; et cy le Roy nad powre all faire leases, donq ills sont trespassers.

3rdly. Le warant fuit all collect et levie, et q̃^t ills prise c̃ q̃ est pluis q̃ 20 temps le value c̃ nest un leviinge."

25th [February].

At the Committee. Disputed whether the first dispute shall not be how the goods of the merchants shall be restored, or whether we shall not dispute what punishment shall be inflicted upon those customers.

Upon a message from the King by Secretary Coke that the King had taken notice of the debate on Saturday, and with what care they had endeavoured to distinguish the King's command from their acts, but the King doth avow what they did was by his direction and assistance himself in person at the Council table, and considering how nearly it touched his honour, and therefore he would not have us to proceed against the customers to censure them, wherein it did so nearly concern him and his honour; and therefore he commended this to our consideration.

And this being delivered to the House, after it had been delivered to the House, it was moved that this being of this weight that we may adjourn the House to to-morrow, and all things may cease in the meantime."

[1629. Account of a Journey into Scotland: *a 12 mo Volume.*]

" C. Lowther.
Mr. R. Fallow.
Peter Manson.

Our Journal into Scotland A.D. 1629, 5th of November, from Lowther.

From Carlisle.

From Carlisle to the river Leavens 4 miles, in that space is wet moorish mossy ground all but a little by the river side, which is good. From Leavens to the river Esk 2 miles, all this space is plain very good ground, most corn ground, all betwixt these two rivers are of Barronet Grame land and the debateable land which is divided appertaining to England; the whole length of Sir Rich. Grame's purchase is some 16 miles down to Sarkfoot it is some 6 or 7 miles broad for 14 miles some 2 or 3 miles broad towards Sarkfoot: it is most of it good. There is betwixt Esk and Leavens, the church of Arthuret built by a stock gathered through the whole kingdom of England, being about 1500 pounds, Mr. Curwen parson of the same procurer of it. By this church is the Howe end where the thieves in old time met and harboured. From over passing from Esk to Dunedale Dike or Sike along Esk is almost 2 miles, which Dike is the division of the debateable land first agreed on

in Hen. VI's time, but now gotten exemplified in Scotland by Barronet Grame *sed plus vide de eo.* From Carlisle they use stacking of corn, on forward into Scotland. The houses of the Grames that were are but one little stone tower garretted and slated or thatched, some of the form of a little tower not garretted; such be all the leards' houses in Scotland. The Good man of Netherby in the Wood is the chief of the Greames. The debateable land is 3 miles long and 3 broad, Soleme moss is on debatable land beyond Esk in Arthuret parish. Within a mile of the Erix Stond beside Moffat in Annandale rise the three great rivers, Annan running W. through Annandale; Clyde, north ; Tweed, east.

From Dunedale Sike to against Canonby some 4 miles, and from this Dunedale Sike to Langham almost on both sides of Esk which is 8 miles is L. Bueplewes land all; and on the east side of Esk to Selkerigg which is 4 miles along the river Esk, from Canonby to Langholm be good woods on the E. side, Helliwearekoog and Langham wood on the W. side, and Hollow-wood through which is our way to Langham, and 3 miles from Langham, over Langham wood is my L. Bucp: colepits. Along the river of Eske is very good grounds, on the height is waste but good ground, and the most part beyond Esk towards Berwick is waste.

Langham is my Lord Maxfeild's but my Lord Buckpleugh hath it and all his land there mortgaged and is thought will have it. My Lord Maxfield hath gotten it to be a market within this 5 years, and hath given them of Langham and Erkenholme land to them with condition to build good guest houses within a year. We lodged at John a Foorde's at my Lord Maxfeild's gate where the fire is in midst of the house ; we had there good victuals, as mutton, midden fowle, oat bread cakes on the kirdle baked the 5th part of an inch thick; wheat bread, ale, aquavitæ. Robert Pringle: Courts Barons and Burghs may hang and order any other causes, hang if offenders be taken with the manner of the deed, but it must be within 24 hours, but if after then there must be a commission gotten that they may have a jury which consisteth of 15, the first of which is called the chancellor and hath two voices, they go by votes, and the jury is to be elected out of the whole sheriffdom.

At Langham, Arche my Lord Maxfeild's steward, bestowed ale and aquavitæ ; we laid in a poor thatched house the wall of it being one course of stones, another of sods of earth, it had a door of wicker rods, and the spider webs hung over our heads as thick as might be in our bed. Mr. Curwen, parson of Arthuret sent his man over to Langham to get Arche to get us a lodging in Lord Maxfeild's house because of the outlaws in the town at that time, but the keys were at Arche's house 4 miles off so that we could not otherwise. We had my uncle Fallowfield [who] could not sleep the night for fear of them, neither would he suffer us the rest of his company to sleep ; that night also did Mr. Robert Pringle hearing my uncle Fall. was going to Edinburgh come after him, bestowed beer and acquavitæ of us and writ commendatory letters for us to Sir James Pringle sheriff of Ethrick, and to Edinburgh, and of all there we were kindly used, and Mr. Pringle the next day set us a great part of the way to Selkrig. At the Langham the river Eues where we come into Eusedale runneth into Esk.

The Saturday being the 7th of November anno đni. 1629 went we to Eskerigg, the way is most of it a valley, rivers all the way till we be almost to Selkerig, along the which rivers is excellent good ground, the mountains on both sides the river be very green good sheep pasture, and many places of them very good long grass. All the churches we see

were poor thatched and in some of them the doors sodded up with no windows in almost till we came at Selkrig, a sheep grass here abouts and about Langham is 1*s.* 6*d.* a year, a beast grass 2*s.* or 2*s.* 6*d.*, butter is some 6*s.* a stone, they have little or nothing enclosed, neither of corn ground, woods, or meadow, they have very little hay unless at a knight, leard, or lord's house some very little. They use all or most part over Scotland (except in Murray land which is the finest country in Scotland for all kinds of fruit, corn, and of trees, and all other necessaries, it being most part enclosure) no enclosure but staff herding each man though he have but one beast whether of his own or of others taken to grass night and day. They used too in these parts to cut off the wool of the sheep's bellies that they may go better among the ling to feed, and their sheep skins of flayne or dead sheep they spelke them and hang them up in their fire houses to dry, partly because they will sell better, but chiefly because they sell them by a great company together to sell them and hanging them so will keep them. A sheep greaser will grease some 40 sheep a day; some use for sheep instead of tar the gilly which cometh off broom sodd in water, and make salve of it with butter, as they do tar, and grease with it, this learned I of Sir James Pringle of Gallowsheilds, and because I was treating of sheep I thought good to put it in this day's travel, being Friday. The distances from Langham to Eus Church beside Micledale Holle 4 miles, betwixt Langham and this place was it that my Lord Buckpleugh did wapp the outlaws into the dubb. From thence to the Frosterly burne head, after the crossing of which we enter into Tuidale, where the way that leadeth to Hawick called the Read road on the right hand meeteth with the way that leadeth to Edinburgh, on the left hand. From thence to Milcinton my Lord Bodwell's where the coal pits be on the hill side beside Teat river. From thence to the Burn foot 4 miles, from thence to Askerton Kirk one mile along the river Ayle, at which kirk we drank at the vicar's house taken by an ale-house keeper, from thence to an old gentleman's house a mile on this side of Selkrigg where we enter into Etherikke forest, 2 miles. Just on this side is there a fair lough half a mile long, about 340 yards broad, much fish in it, and a boat on it; at the end of it a fair house which the Leard of Riddall purchased it of Sir Robert Scott of Havin the name of the house purchased.

From Selkrigge to Sir James Pringle on Sunday in the morning the 8th of November. At Selkerigg we lodged at goodman Riddall's, a burgess of the town, the which town is a borough regal, for antiquity the 15 in the kingdom of Scotland; it is governed by two bailiffs, they keep courts of themselves and may hang and punish according as their custom is. They have a very pretty church where the hammermen and other tradesmen have several seats mounted above the rest, the gentlemen below the tradesmen in the ground seats; the women sit in the high end of the church, with us the choir, there is one neat vaulted porch in it, my Lord Bucplewgh's seat is the highest in the church and he hath a proper passage into it in at the outside of the vaulted porch. On a corner of the outside of the choir is fastened an iron chain wit (*sic*) at a thing they call the Jogges, which is for such as offend but especially women brawlers, their head being put through it, and another iron in their mouth, so abiding foaming till such time as the bailiffs please to dismiss them, it being in the time of divine service. The form of it is a cross house, the steeple fair, handsomely tiled as the Royal Exchange at London, it having at each corner 4 pyramidal turrets, they call them pricks; my Lord Maxfeild's house at Langham being of the form of the steeple. For the repair of the churches, their presbyteries impose

taxation on the parishioners, the parson of the church looketh that accordingly they be repaired and if any pay not his tax he is put to the horne. The church was tiled upon close joined boards and not lats. In the town there were many fine buildings for hewn stone but thatched, it is as great as Appleby. The women are churched before the service begins; through Scotland the people in church when the parson saith any prayers they use a hummering kind of lamentation for their sins. The inhabitants at Selkrig are a drunken kind of people. They have goods victuals throughout the kingdom, unless it be towards the South-West, but cannot dress it well. Here had we a choking smoky chamber, and drunken unruly company thrust in upon us called for wine and ale and left it on our score. About this town and all the way to Edinburgh is good ground, but nearer Edinburgh the better and still more spacious.

From Selkerigge to 2 miles, Ettrick and Yarrow, 2 rivers, running through Ettrick Forest, which is a sheriffdom (as Richmondshire in Yorkshire) in Tividale. There be yet some woods of Ettrick Forest along the two rivers remaining. Yarrow runneth into Ettrick about half a mile or more from Selkrige, and about a mile lower runneth Ettrick into Tweed, and about half a mile beneath that we take coble over Tweed, the form of it is as it were half of one of our barks. From to Gallowsheilds, 2 miles, to which place is excellent good ground, and to Sir James Pringle his house did we go and there were we wondrous courteously entertained, he is one of the best husbands in the country as appeareth by his planting and suffering his tenants to hold on him by planting 6 fruit trees or 12 other trees, and if they fail, to pay for every tree not planted 4*d.*, he also finding two fullers mills and two corn mills. The town is a borough-barony, he himself is the sheriff of Ettrick and hath been these three years together, he is also a commissioner in the same sheriffdom, of which there be divers in all the sheriffdoms of Scotland, they being of the nature of our justices of assize in their circuits, above justices of peace; he is also a convener of justice, a justice of peace, he is a great man in his country. There are of the Pringles for some 8 miles up Gallowater, gentlemen all of pretty seats and buildings. On the Sunday as soon as we came to the town we alighted and went to the church to him, he took us into his own seat, the one of the one side of him, and the other of the other side, we heard a good sermon the fore and afternoon, there was the finest seats I have anywhere seen, and the orderliest church. Beside him is the Meageld hill, which word Meageld was a watch word to gather those of a company when they were dispersed in war. He hath a very pretty park, with many natural walks in it, artificial ponds and arbours now a making, he hath neat gardens and orchards, and all his tenants through his care, he hath abundance of cherry trees, bearing a black cherry, some of which I see to be about 30 yards high, and a fathom thick, great store of sycamores, trees he calleth silk trees, and fir trees. He gave very great respect, and said he heard of my father's fame. I see there the finest gun I ever beheld which was the King of Spain's. In Scotland the wives alter not their surnames. They served up the dinner and supper with their hats on before their master, each dish covered with another, then was there a bason withheld for to wash our hands before we sat down, then being seated Sir James said grace. Their cheer was big pottage, long kale, bowe or white kale, which is cabbage, 'breoh sopps,' powdered beef, roast and boiled mutton, a venison pie in the form of an egg goose, then cheese, a great company of little bits laid on a pewter platter, and cheese also uncut, then apples, then the table-cloth taken off and a towel the whole breadth of the table

and half the length of it, a bason and ewer to wash, then a green carpet laid on, then one cup of beer set on the carpet, then a little long lawn serviter, plaited up a shilling or little more broad, laid cross over the corner of the table and a glass of hot water set down also on the table, then be there three boys to say grace, the 1st the thanks-giving, the 2nd the pater noster, the 3rd a prayer for a blessing to God's church, the good-man of the house, his parents, kinsfolk, and the whole company, they then do drink hot waters, so at supper, when to bed, the collation which [is] a doupe of ale ; and also in the morn and at other times when a man desireth to drink one gives them first beer holding him the narrow serviter to dry his mouth with, and a wheat loaf and a knife, and when one hath drunk he cutteth him a little bread in observance of the old rule, *Incipe cum liquido sicco finire memento.* When we came away in the morn having walked abroad into park, gardens, and other places, and having very well with rost &c. (*sic*) Sir James set us 2 miles, and his 2nd, his eldest son better than 4, and writ us letters to Edinburgh. The Pringles glory in that they were never but on the King's part in all the troublesome times, and they therefore of the states were envied, for they never 'lowped' out with any of the lords nor were attainted.

Sir James told us of a man that said to king James when he was hunting that he would show him a buck that would let him take him by the baaes, stones, speaking jestingly. At Sir James' house they have a thing called a palm in nature of our ferula, but thicker, for blasphemers. England and Scotland wooed roughly before they wedded. Sir John Scott one of the secret council is his son's wife's father.

Gallow water runneth into Tweed about a mile beneath Gallowsheilds and a little beneath its meeting with Tweed on Tweed there hath been a very strong fortified bridge having the tower yet standing which was the gate to the bridge in old time. 3 miles over the hills side on Gallowsheilds is Lauderdale, Lauder itself being one of the ancientest burghs there abouts who will take toll on the King. In it dwell many of the Lauders, one of whose houses is very fine one, there running a river hard by it called Lauder. Of this Lauderdale Viscount Metlin or Matlin is viscount. The gentlemen and gentlewomen call their men and maids Misters and Mistresses.

From Gallowshields to Windeleys, one of the Pringles, 2 miles, it stands in a dale up which dale is a pretty wood on our left hand ; within the sight of the same side another of the Pringles, his house is called Torretleys on the other side of the water on the right hand is another of them, his house is called Buckholme, and by the water side he hath a wood called the Buckholme. From thence to Herret's houses, a guest-house where we alighted, is 8 miles, in which space we crossed the Gallowater some 20 times. From thence to Fallow Burne where we enter into Lowden one mile, from the Fallow Burne to Borthacke Castle 1 mile, from thence to Stobhill 2 miles, where all the coal pits are of the Leard of Erniston, a Seton, and Stonnobiars a lord's seat that was standing in a wood along a river side, all which now Seton the leard of Erniston hath bought of the Lord of Steanbiars, which Erniston for his wealth might buy out a lord or two. From the Stobhill in view on our left hand some 4 miles off is Erniston, a fine seat, from the Stobhill to Dawertey upon the river Keeth and a stone bridge over it, my Lord Ramsey's house seated on a rock, a fine building ; 1 mile from thence down the river Keeth not in sight and out of our way my lord of Newbattell who sticked himself. From my Lord Ramsey's in our way to Laswade a market town one mile, it is seated on

a goodly river and a stone bridge over it called the South river. From the Laswade to Liberton church 2 miles, from Liberton to Edinburgh 2 miles. The hemisphere's circumference from Edinburgh is mountains, as is Westmoreland from about Lowther, but something plainer, and their mountains not so high. In view from Edinburgh 4 miles southwards is Keeth, a borough where all the witches are burned, and Earl Morton's house is.

There is also in view from Edinburgh's craggs Musselburgh upon the Frith's side some 4 or 5 miles off where the famous battle was fought betwixt the Scotch and English. From Edinburgh about a mile eastwards is Leith, the chief haven, having belonging to it 150 sail of ships holding about 200 tons. The lords, merchants, and gentlemen join in putting out ships to take prizes, of which we saw some 3 or 4 French and Flemings they had taken, there is a pretty harbour. This town was taken and burnt by the Frenchmen in Queen Elizabeth's time, and she sent the English which did remove them, some houses we saw which were burnt but not yet re-edified; before that time it was walled about, but now it is yet better than Carlisle, having in it two fairer churches for inwork than any I saw in London, with two seats-royal in either. There be also two hospitals one of which the sailors built, the other the tradesmen, there is a stone bridge over the river Leith here, hard by the town be oysters dragged which go to Newcastle, Carlisle and all places thereabouts, they being under 3*d.* the 100. All their churches be lofted stage wise about Edinburgh, Leith, &c., the women at Leith in one church had loose chairs all along before the men's seats. It is governed by two bailiffs. Eniskeith an isle in the Firth, a mile or two by water from Leith is famous for a fort on a rock in the same which the Frenchmen took when they took Leith (the English built it), and left a remembrance of their being there written in latin on stone. At Leith dwelleth my Lady Lincey who married her 6 daughters to 6 knights. On our right hand as we go to Leith is the castle of Stenick, old and ruinated; the town of Leith is a borough, but holding on Edinburgh as Kingston-upon-Hull on York. The fort in Eniskeith hath yet command of the sea if it be well manned it will hold a thousand men. The passage in at the harbour at Leith is dangerous by reason of sprtes (*sic*) and shelves, they cannot lash in but at a full sea. The harbour is compassed in with wooden fabrics 3 fathoms high and about 2 broad, strengthened by great stones thrown into the frame all but where the ships enter in at being but narrow. White wine was there at 3*d.* the muskin, which is a pint.

Beyond the Frith in the sight of Edinburgh is Bruntelin, a harbour, town, and borough of regality, governed by a provost, who knoweth my Lord of Bruntelin a Melvin, (*sic*) dwelling there and 2 bailiffs, and 2 officers and sergeants. Their provost in Scotland is in nature of our mayor, bailiffs in nature of our sergeants-at-mace, or rather chosen to aid them, the officers they arrest if the bailiffs give them but warrant by word bid them, they are in nature of our bailiffs, and bear halberds. Here is a church square built, and it hath a seat-royal in it, there are no more churches in it, but yet they have a pretty 'towbeoth.' The Frith betwixt Leith and Bruntelin or Kengoren 7 miles, a mile or two above Bruntelin is Aberdour a the water running through it, one side my Lord of Morton's, the other side my Lord Murray's, a mile down from Bruntelin towards the main sea is Kengoren, a haven for boats and barks, all within the view of Edinburgh crags, and a borough regal, one Lyon is earl of it, one church; hard by it is there a spawewell.

A mile beneath Kingorin is a borough regal and haven as big as Leith called Kirkaldy a borough regal, one church one towbeoth.

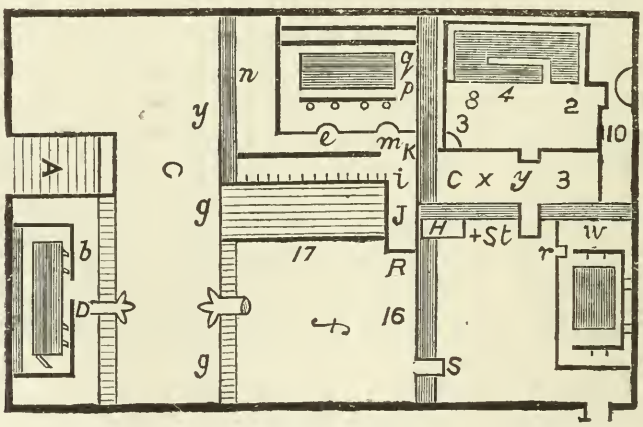
A mile beneath Kirkaldy is there another harbour for boats and barks as Kingoren called Dysart the wealthiest and biggest of that coast. Kirkaldy and this have markets every day in the week, Bruntelin and Kingoren but one day, it is a borough regal, a mile beneath it is Weemes, a borough and barony on the sea coast, no haven, and Colinn is lord of Weemes.

Now having gone about the circumference I will come to the centre videlicet—Edinburgh, whither we came on the 9th of November; there dismounted we ourselves at Mrs. Robertson's the stabler in College-wind where during our abode our horses were, and fed with straw and oats no hay straw, 24 hours 3d.—oats 3*d.* a capp which is a hoop. From thence we went to our lodging at Mrs. Russell's in Bell-wind an agent who is in nature of our English attorney's and three of us paid for our chambers fire and bedding 10*d.* 24 hours which [is] 5*s.* 10*d.* the week, ordinary we had none but paid for what we called. That night being wearied we rested ourselves, the next day viewed we their castle which is mounted on stately rocks, having the whole town of Edinburgh, Leith, and the sea in its eye; there is a fair pair of gates with stone cut work but not finished, the porter had our swords to keep until we came back again out of the castle, there were about some 20 pieces of ordnance ready mounted, brass and iron, one piece of ordnance there was bigger than any else either in the munition house or any other which I saw to be about 4 yards long, and the diameter 20 inches, there being a child gotten in it as by all it was reported, the bullet of stone she shooteth is of weight 19 stone 4 pounds 3 ounces, after the troy-weight 20 pounds to the stone; there be great many of vaults some 6 yards by which the castle keepers say would contain 1000 men. The building is no bigger than Appleby castle, within it is a powder mill, corn mill, &c. There is also a hewn stone well 30 fathoms deep, the water is drawn up with a wheel which one goeth in, it is hewn so deep through a rock of blue-stone; there be little wooden watch-houses, to watch in every night.

From the castle we went to the Courts where we saw all the 14 Lords sitting in the inner house in their robes, being a violet colour faced with crimson velvet of the fashion of our Judges, the 15th Lord sitteth in the outer house. The chief of these 15 is the Chancellor, the 2nd the Lord President, the 3rd the Lord Advocate, the other 12 sit in council in the outer house each third week, beginning at the ancientest, [1st of the inner house and 15th of the house itself, then of the laws and order of the house, then so of the outer house]* and of the commissary's court, and of the force of the presbyteries, &c.

[The Inner House.]

The Courts.



* The passage in brackets is struck out in the original.

a, the stairs up into the Courts; *b*, the commissary court; *d*, the door into it; *c*, a void place to walk in; *g*, a wainscot partition; *e*, a door which a maser keepeth; *f*, the place where those in readiness which have business; 16, a wall crossing over-thwarte; *h*, a door through the high wooden partition into the outward house the 2nd court; *g*, stagewise seats into which any may go out of the void place; (sc. *c*,). *i.g.* a pale to forlet any to go off from the stagewise seats into the Court; *k*, a long backed seat for lawyers and expectants to sit on; *m*, the door in at which the Macer and Judges, &c., go within the bar; *l*, another door on either side of which the advocates, defendant, and pursuant, plead; *n*, a place for the idle advocates to chat and walk in *o*, a seat where the Registers sit at the table; *p*, the two ascending seats on the lowest of which other clerks and registers sit, on the highest the single Judge; *q*, a wall; *r*, a door out of the outer house into a walking place before the inner house over which hangeth a bell the string of which goeth into the inner house by the judges' heads; *s*, another door into the inner house retiring place; *s*, a partition wall; *t*, the door into the inner house; *v*, a door into a severed place for any man's private dispatch, as for writing of letters or other things, conferences, &c.; *w*, the seats and table; *x*, a vacant place for clients and other concourse during the advocate's pleading or motion before the Judges; *z* and ×, the bar on both sides of the door, those for the defendants and their advocates the other for the pursuers &c.; *y*, the entrance for the Judges and Registers; 5, the table with 3 sides about the outside of which, on 8, sit the Judges, my Lord Chancellor in the midst and in a black gown, the President of the sessions on his right hand in a purple gown faced with red velvet, and so the rest of the lords except the Lord Advocate, who is in black, and sitteth in the corner 3, and in degree is next the President; he is in nature of the King's Attorney at London, and pleads for the King when anything toucheth him, and also for other persons and still with his hat on if so it please him; 4, the form before the table on which the Registers sit, being men of good esteem, but bare-headed; 2, the door to the chimney; 10, the chimney, over the head is it fine fret plaister work, and in the windows behind the Judges are there the volumes of their law. Under part of these Courts is there another court called the Court of Justice, and hard by is the Lord Provost's Court, and first of the Commissary's Court beginning *ex minimis*, to it belongeth 4 Judges which formerly have been advocates, they be, as I perceived not much respected, the matter of the court be legacies, wills and testaments, debts under 40*l.* sterling, yet one may have a man for 1000 or more, but then it must be in general debts, never one amounting to above 40*l.* Their trials are wholly by oath and witnesses. Next, of the outer court, which doth but as it were prepare things for the inner house, here doth sit always but one judge, and he is one of the 12 of the 15, which 12 according to their seniority sit here each their week in course, the other 3, *sc.* the Chancellor, President, and Lord Advocate are exempted. In the morning still before the Judge comes in be all the parties called into court which that day shall have any business, then entereth in the judge, and all trivial civil matters he judgeth and likewise all great matters he handleth and at leastways prepareth if not judgeth it himself and if any like not of the judgment of this court they may have it to the inner house, but if the judges of the inner find the judgment to be good, the party which troubled the inner house with it will be punished, the process of the court being 1st a summons, attachments, &c., then a Ditte which

is in nature of our declaration, to which the Defender most commonly answereth by word himself and not by way of replication in writing, and if it be about a Horning matter which is in nature of our outlawing, then there goeth forth a caption and upon that a Horning, which Horning is publicly read on the market cross at Edinburgh. Now a Horning is a writing setting forth the whole matter and cause of it, with the reasons why so, and this Horninge pronounceth him a rebel, and yet notwithstanding this Horning may be reversed, as our outlawry. In this court is always great noise and confusion, but the inner house very orderly as shall appear, it only medleth with things not determined or where his judgment is disliked. When they are all set the door is shut and none but themselves there they will ring a bell (and then openeth the Maser the door) when they have any business, and the Maser as they bid him will call the parties and their advocates whom they would have which go in thereupon with their cause; at which time the Maser will suffer any stranger to go in and hear the cause pleaded upon acquaintance. The form of their pleading is 1st the advocates and their clients stand each on either side of the door through the bar, at the bar, and the advocates plead in Scotch before them, and in the then time of their pleading their clients will put a double piece or more, with an ordinary fee with the poorest, and will say to their advocates 'thumb it thumb it,' and then will the advocates plead accordingly as they feel it weigh. Their pleading is but a kind of motion, and especially the first 6 weeks in the session for then is there nothing else but motions. Most of their law is Acts of Parliament and Regiam majestam, and their judgments given in court which we call reports, only they corroborate their cause with civil arguments and reasons. After their motion which is but short, they are all dismissed, the door shut, and then it is voted amongst the judges and according to the number of votes it is carried, and then the Chancellor, if present, if not, the President, and if not he, in order to next, giveth sentence accordingly, it still remaining hidden to the parties the carriage of the matter; and so when this matter is done to the next, but note that the parties with their advocates will acquaint the Judges with their case before it comes to hearing, which they say maketh quicker dispatch, and note further that advocates will commonly have a 'kowe' or such like thing sent them to make way unto them for their clients beside their fees, by which exorbitant kind of fees they become the greatest purchasers in the kingdom. They have most of them been travellers and studied in France, but whether they have studied at home or in France they thus proceed, advocates, *sc.*:—they first get a petition to the Judges that they may not be hindered by the Masers, but have free access to the Courts, [and] hear their manner of pleading, from which time till they be advocates they are called Expectants. Now as soon as they think themselves fit and dare venture to undergo trial, they will further petition to have a lesson, to dispute a question before the Judge, upon which if they be thought sufficient they are admitted and sworn advocates. A story—One being to [be] made Judge of the Session not long ago, there being in his oath not to be partial, he excepted to his friends and allies. Another—A borderer in a Jury gave amongst his fellows wittingly a false verdict, and being asked why he did it, said it is better to trust God with one's soul than their neighbour with their geere. The poor clients say there be great delays in actions some 7 years, some 12, 20, 27, &c., but the advocates shuffle it off and deny it, yet I heard of one who offered the one half to recover the other, and for an advocate or other to lay an action depending in suit

it is common with them, and they hold it reason that when a man cannot defend his own cause that he sell to another who can. Forgery is death with them, perjury the loss of their hand or ears, as the quality of the persons requireth. If a clerk do but miswrite anything it is death. Hereditaments descend, conquests(?) purchases ascend, as from the son to the father, dower and conjunct fee, jointure is as in England, almost. The form of their writings are almost the same with ours, their dignities, wards, reliefs, and marriages as with us ; but note the form of marriages, they are asked in the church as with us, the priest will appoint what company they shall have at church, but after marriage there will be continual feasting and mirth for some 4 or 5 days together, during all which time there will be presents offered to them, as all kinds of household stuff, feather beds, pots, pans, &c., and goods, as sheep, oxen, horses, kine, &c., often to the value of 500*l.* sterling, but according as the parson is more or less for offerings in the church they do not use. Men seldom change their servants ; the gentlemen and knights, &c., usually do ride with trumpets. The last year, 1628, the Judges went circuits, but it is doubted whether they will hereafter do so or not. The Scotch nobility do dilapidate their estates and impoverish their own kingdom by frequenting the English Court, their trading is almost wholly with England, their wines excepted which they buy in France, custom free in regard of their old league with them. Their own chief commodities are grain, sheep, and runts, salt and coal, and of coal it is observed that there is none but between Trent in England and Tay in Scotland, which cometh from a great lough so called, and glideth by Perth and Dundee. Lough Nesse beside Murray-Land and the river which runneth from it is so fierce that it never freezeth and though I saw [ice] come out of another river into it yet it instantly thaweth and becometh water. That of Lough Mirton, Lough Lomond, the Deaf stone, and the Cleke geese is reported for truth as Holingshead writes it. There be at this time three of the greatest men in the kingdom papists and their eldest sons protestants, which is remarkable, *sc.* Argyll, Hamilton, and Huntley whose eldest son is esteemed the ablest man of body in the kingdom, and will familiarly go in the mountains after the deer 80 miles a day. But I am afraid I have digressed and therefore I will return to the courts. The sheriffs be now most of them annually chosen, and the sheriff of Lothian this year, 1629, is my cousin Sir Lewis Lowther who was very glad to see me. He keepeth his court twice a week, in the afternoon, Wednesday and Friday in the outer court, at which times the 4 Lord Justices sit upon criminal matters in their own court, and their criminal offenders may have advocates to plead for their lives before the Judges. Over the Lords of the session be there 4 other lords of the Secret Council, which may sit and give their votes amongst them if they will, and they be but as spies over the rest to mark their doings, and inform the king of it. The general Justice which is through the Kingdom is by the conveners of justice at Quarter Sessions Commissioners when it pleaseth them, and sheriffs at their courts when they appoint them, but the Judges of the session bear such a hand over them as they will call in question almost every thing they do, let them do the best they can. When one is out of the Borders, and especially the further North-east is very safe travelling, safer than in England ; and much civiller be they, and plainer English, yea better than at Edinburgh. Their tillage like ours they use much liming of their ground, and they plough their ground all in winter, and in the spring then only harroweth it and soweth it. Their mason and joiner work is as good if not better than in England, most of their wear is

English cloth. They have very good meat, fish, flesh, and fowl great store, but dress it not well; in the South it is as dear as in the South of England, but in the North, about Dumbarton and thereabouts wondrous cheap, a goose for 4*d.*, and so proportionably of other things. Their drink is almost altogether ale and hot waters, and in the North most hot waters, wine is 6*d.* a quart, sack 1*s.* 1½*d.*

Now having passed through the Courts we will enter the town, in which there is but one street of note called the High Street, beginning at the Castle and going down to the Neitherbowe which is one of the bars or gates of the city, and strait on to the Abbey which is the King's Palace, but the street from the Netherbowe to the Abbey is called the Cannongate, the one side of which is a liberty of itself, the other side belongeth to Edinburgh, as Holborn one side to London the other to Westminster. They have a fine Towbeoth and prison in it, this street and the High Street are but one street called by strangers, the next street is Cowgate within the city as long as either of them but narrower, the rest but winds and closes some 2 yards broad. The Abbey is a very stately piece of work uniform, and a dainty neat chapel in it, with a pair of organs in it, and none else in the city, they being puritans. There be fine prisons of a great height, and fine hewn stone buildings. There be 5 churches, of which St. Giles' is chief because of the stately steeple, before Bowbells church in London, having in it one great bell which they do not ring but tolls at 10 o'clk at night, and 4 others. At Grey Friars their tombs be in the church-yard walls but none in the church, there is one hospital within the walls, another without, which Herret the King's jeweller at his decease gave money to build it. There is one college which King James founded, being governed by a primate and other sub-regents to read to the several years which follow here in order, there be 5 classes or seats in it, 1st of Humanity, the 2nd of Greek, 3rd of Logic, the 4th of Natural philosophy, the 5th of Mathematics, and Arist de calo(?) The 1st year of students be called scholars, the 2nd Semibijani, the 3rd Semibijani, the 4th bachelors, the next degree, Laureates or Masters of Arts, and no further, tutors they call pedagogues. We supped with Mr. Addamsonn, primate of the same on Thursday at night, and much made on were we. There is one part of the college built by the Senate and people of Edinburgh, which is better than any part of the college beside, with this inscription. *Senatus populusque Edenburgensis has ædes Christo musisque struendas curarunt:* there are some 300 students in it, the primate is severe, he hath a little dog following him, and 2 fair daughters, and an unhappy lad said he would wish nothing but to stick his dog and move his daughters and lye carnally with them. At the end of every year they analyze their whole year's work, when they go out Laureats they repeat their last 4 years analyses and they then be their own tutors. There is a place which they call the Society of Brewers, where the beer and ale is brewed to serve the city and they be Englishmen, they called us into their butteries and made us drink gratis, there they have wondrous fair brewing vessels and a fair kiln. There is also the Custom house not far from St. Giles' church with 3 fair arched entrances, over it is the place where butter is sold. The town is governed by a Provost which is [in] nature of our mayor, they not having any in Scotland, by 4 bailiffs and 36 of his council, in nature of our aldermen, the mayor's brethren and other under officers; the bailiffs arrest, and the officers may also if the baliffs bid. There is an officer they call the Danegeld which disburseth money for the town before the bailiffs, they call him lord. At 4 o'clk in the morning and at 8 at night goeth a drum about the town and so in other boroughs,

the nobles have to carry up the supper, a trumpet sounding. All their gentlemen be courteous and affable, but hosts and the country clowns be careless and unconscionable in their usage to strangers.

On the 10 of November being Tuesday at 12 of the clock see we 3 heralds standing on the public cross which is in form of a turret but not garretted, and a wood beam standing up in the middle, the unicorn crowned on the top of it, there is a door up into it. These 3 heralds one after another did proclaim an edict concerning the papists of Scotland, reciting them by their names which get if possible, both before and after they proclaimed 3 trumpeters sounded, and so still they do if it be from the King or his council, but if some common proclamation not so in state. On this cross be all noble men hanged and headed, as about 9 years since, 1619 or thereabouts, the Earl of Orkney headed, his son hanged, and others, for the keeping a castle against the King being treason; on this cross be citations read, denunciations, and hornings denounced.

On the 14th of November I went to Leeth whereof more before, crossed the Firth to Bruntelin, which is 7 miles from thence to beside the Leard of Dowhill, a Lincey, 8 miles, 2 miles before we came thither is the river of Ore, narrow but deep and fierce we rid it the height of the horse's mane and the fierceness of it turned the horse off his feet. From Dowhill to Geaney Priggle which parteth Fife and Kinross-shire one mile, from thence to Kinross at the West end of Lough Leven, a borough barony, 2 miles, it is a market town, the Lough Leven is 4 miles square, which is 16 miles about So far is the land good, but here and there many high rocks and hills, in this lough is fish every day in the year gotten for store, none in Britain like, and consider the bigness of it, as also for fowl. The general kinds of fishes be these—the pikes of which many [be] as big as a man, eels, gelltoughes, chars, perches, camdowes, a kind of trout which have not scales, grey trouts, gelletough is the high char, sysbinge the she. There is a river they call the Leven running out of it 8 miles into the sea, and in it is salmons. In the midst of this lough is a castle of my Lord of Morton's, well fortified with good ordnance, the walls some 3 yards thick, a ship might sail in it, there [be] great store of almost all kinds of wild fowl, of wild geese there being continually seen 3000 or 4000, and swans many, the swans will not suffer any foreign swan to be with them, in stormy weather the old swans will carry the young ones on their wings off the water. King James desired to dwell in it, and did with the Queen only for his pleasure. The town of Kinross at the foot where I lodged on Saturday at night which is also my Lord of Morton's, he having another house there too that they dry them in their chimneys like red herrings (*sic*). It [is] governed by one bailliff, 2 officers, one church they have and a Tow-beoth, it is the head town of the shire, and that after which the shire is named, Robert Crenyam my host of this place, one of the elders of the church, told us he saw some 30 years since on a ship which was come from the East Indies shells which in that 3 years' space had grown to the ship have the forms of fowl in them, as in an egg. In Stirling, not far from the sea side some 15 miles there is a gentleman's estate much harmed by a strange outbreaking of the water on Christmas day in the afternoon, 1628, in a moss some 3 miles compass cast up and laid on good ground which hath spoiled the gentleman that mossy ground now covering their arable so thick as to the tops of the trees; and the 3 miles compass out of which it was cast suddenly up became a great lough which before was a dry moss.

The bleaching of linen.

A good spinster will spin 2 bauks a day of that which will be 4*s.* 6*d.* the yard, and when the linen is in varne they seeth it half a day and

more in the ashes of any green wood, and after that let it stand in it a day or more, they wash it by trampling it in hot water and then battling it in cold, some use raw daike (?) small wourt, and this is before it be in cloth, and when it is in cloth they take sheep dung and make it small, put it into hot water and steep the cloth in the same 4 or 5 days, they then wash it in hot water, battles it [in] cold water and after lies it by the water side by 8 days together casting water on it and never suffer it to dry, then they steep in the sheep dung and all more as before.

The Scottish dialect.

Ingle, Fire; Spence, boor in a country house: twill yee, will ye, t'wadd ye, would yow. Bigge, corne: Bearre, a glutte of water a draught of &c.: excamen, exchange: lumant, chimney: through of paper, sheet of paper: gigget of mutton and a spald of mutton, but that's commonly a shoulder: an oval pannier: a creel, a boat: a stand of beer, a stand, a barrel set end ways: my dowe, my wife: pantry, buttery: chop, strike: aught, dighte: what hours, what a clock: wappe, throw: burne, water: serviter, a table napkin: a kealle pie, a pie with pieces of cut mutton and pruned: a chair, chare: a brase, chimney beam: chaule, a candlestick: a coase or leed garan, a kitte: a picle or keoren of wool is 100 stone of &c.: a gritte is all above a hundred stone. Their 100 stone of wool at Selkirk is 150 stone in England, their 14 is our 21. Report George Ribcall, burgess: sile (*sic*) min, bedtester: pendicle or paine, vallance of a bed: head codes, pillows: a drink of ale or beer, some ale or beer: penyells or drawers, curtains: close, courte: a manager as called, a tenies: scriver, a writer: vote, voice, opinion: drite, shite: dung, shite: a lough, tarn or mere: blith, glad.

Measures of liquids.

A bilder, a gill: a mushkin, a pint: a choppin, a quart: a pint, two quarts or a pottle: a quart, a gallon or 4 quarts, this at Langholm and Selkirk.

Measure of corn.

[At] Langholm their bushel is 6 pecks of Carlisle, the 4th part of one of their pecks is called a cappe, the price, 3*d.*; a bushel of oats, 4*s.*; at Selkirk so called also, and there a beat . . or a is the same with a cappe or a heappe, the same at Selkirk, but there measure is less and at Edinburgh their forlet is our 6 pecks or thereabouts, 4 forlets is their bow, 16 bows is their chaldron, a bow of wheat is 10*l.* Scotch: bigge, 8*l.* Scotch: oats 6*l.* Scotch. A horse will bear a bow 40 miles.

Avoirdupoise—16 pounds to the stone, and troy weight 20 pounds to the stone is all through Scotland, and none other.

Wixe him of, drink him of: please, sike: no, not: woursill, change: partrick is the best peasant fuel in the Brittany: creen, rabbit: shanks, stockings: pantol, pantables: mores, hills: bangister, wrangling: collation, a drink when one goeth to bed: diswynes, breakfast: smeringe, greasing: heartsome, delightsome: wilecoate, waistcoat: waterpot pots, chamber-pots: cracklike, a hand-gun, a phrase applied to those who be bravado talkative folks; a health used at Langholm taking one by the hand, the Lord's blessing light on your hand, yourself, and all your body beside: a sponnge, a brush: locky, an old woman: a wind, a lane, or rather an alley, as Ram alley at the Inner Temple at London; a close, the same: a capp, a dish: a k . . ., a clock: skeith, damage: slay and thow the beer, warm: tue, lease: orelayer, a bawd.

Their coins.

A Scotch penny the 12th part of an English penny: a turnamoure *aliter*, a 2odwell or a black dog, the 6th part of an English penny: a placke, the 3rd part of an English penny: an atelinson the 3rd part of 2 pence: the dollar is with them 5*s*. wanting 2*d*., it being most of their money. Their 20*s*. is our 20*d*., their shilling our d., our cross dagger in gold is 11*s*. with them, our 22*s*. piece, 22*s*. 3*d*.

Necke, band; hands, cuffs: heugh, a little hill: moyne, money: dole weed, mourning apparel: sibb, akin or allied: clans, kindred: beosse, a box: shuts, the oval holes in galleries: conjunct fee, jointure: chestons, chestnuts: a geene tree, black cherry tree: a powle foule, a turkey: a coler, a pair of snuffers: turnpike, turn stayre: anent, concerning: a fell spirit, a wise man: crackinge, drinking a while, or talking: ford, wath: rests, rents: holders, tenants: government, etc.

On the 15th day of November from Kinross to Millsforth, better than a mile on the right hand, a quarter of a mile thence is my Lord Burley's house (a very pretty little one). From thence to my lord of Ballmannoe and Aughchinfleck 6 miles, from thence to Erne brigge, the toll of it belongeth to Perth, St. Johnstowne, St. John being patron of it. The sea floweth up so high, the bridge is four bowes long, the river runneth into Teath a mile and a half beneath the bridge. Beneath the bridge by the river side is my Lord of Munchreth, a Muncreeth, a bowdrift lower eastwards is Sir John Muncreth of East Muncreeth, now deputy sheriff, whom they call my lord during the time of his office, (and so are the provost and bailiffs of Perth, being 4, and their Council being 12, if it please your wisdom, King James during his life was provost of it, and my Lord of Scone his deputy, but since his death they choose one each year.) Beneath East Muncreeth is Kellmoneth, a seat of Sir John Muncreeth's, beneath it a mile Phingaske, my Lord Phingaske's a baron, his name is Dundas, it is at the meeting of Teath and Erne, there is great store of fruit, and good grounds; a mile beneath on the river Teath is West Weemes castle, my Lord of Weemes, it is fine ground, and he hath salmon fishing. From Erne brigges to St. Johnstown 2 miles. St. Johnstown is walled and moated on 3 sides, on the 4th the river Teath, over which there was a bridge of 11 bowes, and 1621 or thereabouts was driven down by the water, the water is very rough and dangerous, boats go on it. Besides the lay government before spoken of there be deacons 9, as many as craftsmen, *videlicet*—hammermen, carpenters, scriners, gardiners, websters, wakers, fleshers, backsters, millers, under which all other trades are contained. Each of the deacons do receive apprentices, and redress all faults in trades belonging to them, and are termed lords, they are chosen every year; every trade sitteth in the church by themselves. There be 2 churches in the town, the one called St. John's church having 7 great bells, 4 little, and chimes, the finest in Scotland, the church is hung with many candlesticks. Here I saw a woman sit on the stool of repentance and the parson admonish her, adulterers here do stand bare foot, some half an hour at the church door, then at the beginning of the sermon they go into the church [and] sit on the stool of repentance; this they do at St. Johnstown for the space of a year, and they have a white sheet on during all those ceremonies for the first adulteries committed. For the 2nd being Wednesday having crossed the Frith with much danger we went to Edinburgh and the weather keeping, Thursday and Friday we were taking leave of our friends, Mr. Primate, Advocate Fletcher, and my cousin Sir Louis Lawder, sheriff of Loudon, who made much of me.

We were offered acquaintance to my Lord Chancellor, my Lord of Underpeter, and others of the nobles, but we weighed more our own pains in going down the street than their countenance. On Saturday to Gallowsheilds, half a mile from Liberton as we went is the oil well, which is like the fat in the beef pot, it is a present cure for scalded heads. A mile beyond Borthwick is a town called Middleton. At Gallowsheilds we stayed all night and Sunday, and in the morning went away by 3 of the clock to Mr. Robert Pringle's at Baytingbush, from thence the next morning to Barronet Graham's at the Folde 2 miles whence back again we went after supper to Mr. Curwen parson of Arthuret, thence the next day at noon to Bleckhell where we dined whence home the next night.

Letters and Papers.

Christopher Lowther to Lord ——.

1639, April 8. Whitehaven.

" May it please you to take notice that the 6th instant I being with my Lord Clifford at Workington, and all of us rayzed out of our bedds with an Alarum that the Citye of Carlisle was burnt and the Irish souldiers all slaine by the Scotts, insomuch that the Beacons were lighted, and the Contrye arose, which putt my Lord and all men into such an amazement, that he had given me comaundment to rayse what strength about me as was possible for our defence at Whitehaven, and to send for the trayned band of Lancashire to be readye at Lancaster, but God be praysed the Alarum being false, and all safe I sent after the Alarum and stayd it, and the same day I received one of these letters inclosed from my Lord wherein I doubt not but that he hath better certified yow of all, which makes me shorter. And yesterday I received another letter from him to your Lordship and another to myselfe with a warrant to the Captain or Master of your Lordshipp supposing that she had bene ungone from hence, yett I tould my Lord Clifford that both his Majesty's pinnace the *Confidence*, and your honour's pinnace the *Phœnix* were gone, but it seemes multitude of business caused his Lordship to forget and therefore I have likewise sent you the warrant to the Captain and his Lordship's letter to me, that your honour may be better informed; I expedited this barque away of purpose for the speedye conveyance of these letters. My Lord Clifford departed yesterday imediately after dinner towards Carlile, and since this morninge came a warrant from my Lord Marshall to stay all Scotch shippinge till further order, which here I have done. My Lord Clifford and all the Contrye are much affraid of this port of Whitehaven being the best landinge place for the Enemie, if they should come with force by sea, wherefore I have bought two peeces of ordinance (2 sacres) of Captain Bartlett, and his brother, and tenn musketts with furniture from Newcastle all at my owne charge, and I desire that your honour would be pleased to send me two peecs of ordinance more to these two I have, and I shall with thanks either pay for them, or when these troubles are quieted send them back againe for I will presently make a fortification for them on the peere. And if your Lordship will be soe pleased to send me them I doe intreat yow that I may have some powder shott and other materialls belonging to them."

1644, July 20.—Kirby Lonsdale. Petition of Sir John Lowther Knight Baronet to Prince Rupert. "Who humbly sheweth that albeit your Petitioner hathe showne all loyalnes and obedience to his Majestie and hath used all his endeavours in promoteinge his Majesties service, And your Petitioner haueinge a Commission granted for the goverment of Browham Castle wherein your Petitioner had both bestowed cost and laide in sume provision of corne and fireinge at his owne charge, for preventinge an enemie from possessinge the same. Yet soe it is that Sir Phillip Musgrave Barronet without any cause knowne unto your Petitioner hath set a centry upon the Castle and endeavoureth as it seemeth to possesse himselfe thereof to the greate disrepute and discouragement of your Petitioner and the Country therebouts where your Petitioner's regiment is raysed.

May it therefore please your highnesse to grant unto your Petitioner redresse herin, whereby he may be the better inabled to serve his Majestie and your Highnes, and the Country satisffied and your Petitioner vindicated, and your Petitioner shall be ever obliged to remayne your humble and devoted servant."

"I think it most just that Sir John Lowther be continued in the custody of the Castle of Browham according to his Comission, without any lett or interruption from Sir Phillip Musgrave or any other person and that convenient allowance be made for the support of the Garrison in the sayd Castle from tyme to tyme out of such estate as is belonging therunto.

Kirby Lonsdall, RUPERT."
20th of July, 1644.

THE PROTECTOR CROMWELL to LORD MONTAGUE. [*Copy*].

1657, August 11th. Whitehall.—"You haveing desired by severall letters to knowe our minde concerninge your weighinge Ancho and sayleing with the Fleet out of the Downes, wee have thought fitt to lett you knowe, that wee do very well approve thereof, and that you doe cruse up and down in the Chanell, in such places as you shall judge most convenient, takeinge care of the safetie, interest and honour of the Comonwealth.

I remayne Your very lovinge Friend.
OLIVER P."

Directed:—For Generall Mountague on board the *Naseby* in the Downs.
Endorsed:—His Highnesse letter August 11th, 1657. To command mee to sayle.

QUAKERS.

1661-2, March 17. Morland.—Warrant signed by Thomas Sandford and Edward Nevinson, justices of the peace, for the apprehension of Timothy Robarts, incumbent of Barton church, Westmoreland, for refusing to read and make use of the Book of Common Prayer, and to administer sacrament.

1664, May.—Certificate of William Smith, rector, and Christopher Holm, churchwarden, of Lowther parish, that John Wilkinson, *alias*

Crag of the Parkfoot, had not been to church for the four Sundays last past. They "desire that the Statute in that behalf provided may be executed upon him."

1664, July 20, Woodside.—"Sir John Lowther, Baronet, John Dalston, Richard Braithwait, and Edward Nevinson, Esquires, four of his Majesty's Justices of Peace for said County, &c.

"Forasmuch as it hath been made appear to us, by the oaths of credible and sufficient witnesses, that Anthony Bownas of Shapp, William Whitehead of Hardingdaile, John Barwick of Shapp, Richard Barwick of the same, James Fallowfield of Great Strickland, Edward Winter of Morland, Robert Bowman of Bampton, William Bland of Newby, Robert Robinson of the same, John Bolton of Bongait, and William Hebson of Sleagill, the third day of July last, and John Smith of Sleagill, the tenth of July last, have met together, under the pretence of the exercise of religion, contrary to the Liturgy of the Church of England and contrary to the Act, made the last session of Parliament intituled, An Act to prevent and suppress seditious conventicles. Do therefore adjudge and declare the aforesaid persons to be convict, and so to stand convict, according to the power given unto us by the said Act; and in pursuance thereof have putt our hands and seals."

1664, Sept. 5. Appleby.—Edward Guy to "my much respected friends John Lowther and Philip Musgrave." Defending himself in vague language from various charges brought against him.

Endorsed: "Nedd Guy the Quaker's letter."

1664, November 28.—"From my prison house at Appleby." Michael Langhorne to "John Lowther of Lowther, justice of peace." Complaining of the wrong done him by his imprisonment, and that Guy Coperthwait and another had most rudely taken away his goods, no fine having been inflicted upon him; and abused the people of Askham, shaking their staves over their heads and threatening to hang them (the Askham people) by their necks, &c.

1665, 7 August.—"The names of those who have been imprisoned upon the second offence, whose time is long since expired.

Edmond Robinson of Newby.
Eliza. Holme of Sleagill.
John Bolton of Bongate.
Richard Barwicke of Shapp.
Wm. Hebson of Sleagill.
John Barwick of Shapp.
Edward Winter of Morland.
Robert Winter of the same.
Anthony Bownas of Shapp.
Margaret Fallowfeild of G. Strickland.
Eliza. Morland of Milflatt.
Dorothy Arey of Shapp, and
attached upon the third.

The names of the persons who are now in custody upon the second offence whose time is not yet expired.

Lancelote Fallowfeild of G. Strickland.
James Fallowfe'ld of the same.
Janet Smith of Sleagill.
Frances Lawson of G. Strickland.
Mary Robinson of Cleburne.
Eliza. Gibson of G. Strickland."

1665, August 7.—"The names of the Quakers which met at Strickland Head the 7th day of August.

Imp. Rich. Arey of Shapp.
Rob. Winter of Morland.
Lanclot Fallowfeild of Great Strickland.
Jennat Smith of Slegill.
Ann Robinson of Newby.
Elinor Winter of Morland.
Francis Lawson of Great Strickland.
Margarat Fallowfeild of the same.
Anna Holme of Slegill.
Ann Licake of

Item the 14th of August.

Lanclot Fallowfeild de Great Strickland.
Rob. Winter of Morland.
Rob. Hebbson of Litle Strickland.
Ann Smith of Shapp.
Dorety Arey of the same.
Margarat Arey of the same.
Catheren Clarke of the same.
Elinor Winter of Morland.
Margarat Fallowfeild de Great Strickland.
Ann Robinson of Newby.
Mary Richardson of Great Strickland.
Elizabeth Holme of Slegill.
Jennat Smith of Slegill.
Elizabeth Morland of Millflatt.

Item the 21st of August.

Rich. Arey of Shapp.
Rob. Winter of Morland.
Hugh Gibbson of Shapp.
Rob. Bowmen of Bampton.
Edw. Robinson of Newby.
Lanclot Fallowfeild of Great Strickland.
Tho. Smith of Slegill.
Mary Arey of Shapp.
Elizabeth Morland of Millflatt.
Francis Lawson of Great Strickland.
Margarat Fallowfeild of the same.
Ann Smith of Slegill.
Jennatt Smith of the same.
Jane Winter of the same.
Jennat Atkinson of Shapp.
Eliza Dent of King's Meaberon.
Ann Holme of Slegill.
Ann Licake.

Again the 4 of September.

Lanclot Fallowfeild of Great Strickland.
Rob. Hebbson of Litle Strickland.
Edw. Winter of Morland.
Will. Hebbson of Slegill.
Rob. Winter of Morland.
Ann Robinson of Newby.

Margarat Fallowfeild of Great Strickland.
Mary Holme of Slegill.
Mary Richardson of Great Strickland.
Jennat Smith of Slegill.
Dorety Arey of Shapp.
Margarat Arey of the same.
Jennat Atkinson of the same.
Grace Wattson of Thrimby.
Sarah Whitehead of Shapp.
Elinor Cloudsdaile of the same.

The 28th day of August.

Lanclot Fallowfeild of Great (*blank*).
Tho. Langhorne of Helton.
Dorety Arey of Shapp.
Margarat Arey of the same.
Margarat Fallowfeild of Great Str[ickland]."

Undated.]

"A calendar of all the Quakers now in gaol at Appulby.

John Boulton. Anthony Bownass. Thomas Langhorne. Robert Bowman. Elizabath Holme.	Committed by order of Sessions upon the third offence.
Richard Barrick. Edmund Robinson. Robert Winter. Edward Winter.	Committed for five months upon the second offence and remained 2 months more than their time for the Clerk of the Peace fees.
John Robinson. John Thompson. William Scaife.	Committed upon a Sessions Utlawry and refused to submit or traverse to the Indictment and pay the Clerk of the Peace fees.

Kendall Quakers.

William Cartmell. Elizabeth his wife. Edward Burrow. William Mansergh. Robert Atkinson. Rowland Warriner.	Committed by Allan Bellingham Dan. Fleemeinge James Duckett and Nicholas Fisher, Esquires, for refusing either to submit or traverse to these Indictments.
Michaell Langhorne.	Committed by Sir John Lowther, Baronet, for refuseinge to find security for his appearance and good behaviour.

Francis Howgill and William Hebson upon an other account."

Sir John Armitage to ——— (*copy*).

1663, Monday, 12 o'clock forenoon. Kirklees.—"I am commanded by the high sheriff of our county and the Deputy Lieutenants of the West Riding, to give you notice that the fifth monarchy men, the Anabaptists, Independents, Presbyterians, and a great many of the old soldiers, are resolved upon a rising, the day appointed is the 12th instant, the rebellion is to be general throughout the kingdom, if not in Scotland too. Therefore I thought it was my duty to acquaint you that all loyal subjects in the county may have notice to be in readiness if possible to prevent the horrid design, for they are resolved to destroy all which doth not come in unto their assistance. I am afraid I have been too tedious so shall only trouble you with the subscribing of myself," &c.

Sir Philip Musgrave to Sir John Lowther, at Lowther.

1664, December 24.—"I do give you thanks for the account you are pleased to give me of your proceedings against the quakers concerning which matter I did a few days ago speak with my Lord Chancellor who told me (as Mr. Secretary Bennet had done formerly) that from all parts of England they heard of their insolent behaviour, and did desire as quick a course might be taken for suppressing of them by imprisonment and transportation as the law will allow, I shall before the end of Christmas give you what I can learn for the way appointed for their transportation: The country will have a loss of Sir Patricius Curwen having a long time lived with much reputation among them and loved just ways. A writ for a new election is granted and I perceive Sir William Dalston intends to stand, and your nephew Sir John Lowther doth the like. They are both my very good friends and I will be accountable to you for my carriage in this matter.

The loss of our fort, and all the merchandise, and merchant ships at Guine taken by the Dutch, I suppose will be sent you in more particular manner then I have it, it is a sad story: I wish you a good Christmas.

P.S.—If you have not (by the authority of an umpire) put an end to the dispute betwixt my cousin William Musgrave and his son in law Mr. Simpson, I do beseech you do it, for it is an act of charity and Mr. Simpson's designs very disagreeable to ingenuous dealing especially with a father."

Dr. Thomas Barlow to Sir John Lowther Bart. at Lowther.

1670, April 5th. Q[ueens] Coll[ege] Oxon.—"I receaved yours, and returne my respects, and harty thanks for your kindnes to the Colledge and me; and for your good opinion of both; which appears in this, that you are pleased to trust us with the education of your Grand-child, the heire and hopes of your ancient and worthy family. Sir, whenever you shall be pleased to send him hither, he shall be very welcome, and you may be sure, he shall have the best accommodation the Colledge can give him. For placinge him in the Colledge be pleased to know, that we have two ranks of Gentlemen in the Colledge. 1. Those we call *Communars*, which are Gentlemen of inferior quality usually (though many times men of higher birth and fortune, will have their sonnes and heires in that ranke). 2. *Upper Communars*, which usually are Baronetts or knights sonnes, or Gentlemen of greater

fortunes; these have some honorary priviledges above ordinary *Communars*, but are not (as in all other Houses generally) freed from any exercise the meanest gentlemen undergoe: soe we conceave, and (by experience find and) know it to be true, that to exempt them from any beneficiall exercise, is not a priviledge, but indeed an injury and losse to them: seeinge it is really a depriveinge them of the just means of attaininge learninge, which is the end they and we should aime att. I doe (with submission to your prudence) thinke it most convenient to make your Grandchild *Upper-Communar;* it is some more honor, and benefitt to him, seeinge he will be ranked amongst Gentlemen of better birth and fortune, and soe (in reason and probabilytie) of most ingenuous breedinge and civility. For a Tutor, in case you know any in our Colledge to whom you would commend him, lett me know it, and your commands shall be obeyed; otherwise if you shall be pleased to referr it to me, I shall commend him to such a one, as shall carefully indeavor to direct and instruct him in the grounds of Religion and Literature. But whoever be his Tutor, I shall (God willinge) diligently oversee and take care of both, and assist them in attaininge the end they aime att (piety and learninge). Though my imployments here are neither few nor little; yet (if you give me leave) I shall at convenient times (privately) read over the grounds of Divinity to him, that soe he may have a better understandinge and comprehension of the reason of that Religion, which alone is, or can be a just foundation of true comfort here, and of our hopes of a better life hereafter. . . . . Lastly, to send a servant to attend him, will be some charge (though, to you, that be inconsiderable) and indeed (which is considerable) to noe purpose: for he must have a boy (assigned by his Tutor) to be his servitor, who must be a gowne-man and a scholar, and will be able to doe all his little businesses for him; and he may chuse such a servitor as is a very good scholar and sober Student, and soe be helpfull to him in his studies. Very few Gentlemen (though heires to very great fortunes) keepe any men to attend them here; and these few which sometimes doe, those servants haveinge nothinge to doe themselves commonly make their Maisters most idle. But I referre this (as all other things) to your prudence."

Dr. Thomas Barlow to [Sir John Lowther Bart.].

1670, May 26th. Queen's College, Oxon.—"I receaved yours, and 'tis true, I understood your meaninge, (when you mentioned sendinge a man to waite on your grandchild here) to be of a *Clocke-man;* and such persons (haveinge usually little or noe buisines with bookes) beeinge commonly idle themselves, concurre many times to make their maisters soe too. But, it seemes, I misunderstood your meaninge, for you intended to send a younge man, a scholar, who might waite on him as his servitor: and (as to this) my Cosin Dr. Smith, said truely, that such a person will be very convenient to come with him; for a servitor, who is a gown-man, he must have; and 'twill be much better that he have one of whose fidelity and industry he is (by experience) assured, then a stranger; besides that boy (if borne in our country) will be capable of any preferment in our Colledge, and if (by his civility and proficiency in good literature) he prove worthy, he shall not want it."

Lancelot Lowther to Sir John Lowther Bart.

1670, July 23rd, New Castle.—About the price and supply of alum, estimated to be worth about 25*l.* a ton.

Henry Denton to Sir John Lowther Bart.

1670-1, January 17th. Q[ueens] C[ollege], Ox[ford].

"Your Grandchild continues his application to his studies not onely with diligence, but delight. Onely he has by an accident common to men who are in the vigour of their youth in jesting with an other Gentleman sprained his legge. But without any further hurt then some five dayes confinement to his chamber, which to him that can entertain himself all day with his book is no punishment. I am very well satisfyd with your intentions of making him his own purse bearer, because as I do not distrust his discretion, so will it ease mee."

Sir Thomas Osborne to Lord ——.

1671, October 3rd, London.— . . . . "Your Lordship was pleased in that to oblige mee with your commands to indeavour Sir John Finch his being one of the Commissioners for the Customes, and I must assure your Lordship itt was so much my desire that his Majestie should choose the best men for that place, and so much my inclination to serve so worthy a Gentleman, that I had proposed him to the Duke of Buckingham before I received your letter, and his Grace did not only approve the choice, but recommended him to his Majestie, whose answer was that hee had pitch't upon the men already, and I can assure your Lordship further, that the King depended wholly upon my Lord Ashley and Sir Thomas Clifford for the choice of all those Commissioners. Could I have pleased myselfe with a more satisfactory answer according to my desire, your Lordship should not have staid so long for it, and though I cannott take upon me to answer all the queries in your second letter, viz:—what qualifications are necessary to a Pretender, yett I dare bee confident to say my Lady Mary Bertie is in no way ingaged and when she is, I should thinke itt one great step to her happinesse that her Gallant could bee accompanied with your credentialls."

The Earl of Danby to the Earl of Conway.

1680, August 21st.—"I know itt is pitty to interrupt you in your great pleasure of building, but besides that I can bee no longer silent without inquiring after your health (which no man is more concernd in then myselfe) I desire to partake of some of the pleasure by knowing what advances you have made in your work and whither you have made any progresse in the fencing of the Park. If itt please God that ever I have liberty to go where I please I resolve to make my first visitt to Ragley and I am sure I shall not want your Lordship's assistance for that liberty when the time comes. I am glad therefore for my owne sake that a certain day is now sett for the meeting of the Parliament.

I suppose you heard that Mr. Hyde is sworne a Gentleman of the bedchamber and I find every body wondring att itt and guessing that itt portends some great alteration in the Treasury. I heare my Lord

Grauard is in towne and that some would find an imployment for him to Tanger, but I imagine those are not his best friends. I intend to write to my Lord Brooks to thank him for his civility in the last Parliament and to desire the continuance of itt in this, but I have not yett learnt how to direct my letter to him."

Anne Wharton to [her Husband] the Hon. Thomas Wharton.

1681, April $\frac{20}{10}$, Paris.— . . . . "I here your poore house of commons were very roughly dealt with, they have noe vertue left (that I know of) but patiance, to make use of, and they say that is the coward's vertue, but yet I hope they will practise it in their affliction, which I cannot be very sory for, because I am the more likely to see you heare; you see how publick misfortuns bring private satisfactions."

Thomas Lowther to Sir John Lowther Baronet.

1688, August 22nd. Preston [or Purston Jacklin, near Pontefract].— I delayed till this post, to give you an accompt what was done at our meeting at Pontefract. Wee mett an houre or two before the questioners came where we agreed on the Answers; as on the other side there were but three that differed from us that were protestants, (viz) Sir J. Bointon, Mr. Hammon, and Mr. Towneley, the two former we expected would doe soe, and what their answers were we know not, but they looked sneakingly on't. Now shall acquaint you what a fatall day had like to have beene to me; in the morning the stewart of my Colepitts fell downe the Pitt 34 yards deep, and a piece of timber after him, yet by God's mercie was not killed; and other two at the same time had like to have beene kild that should have lett him downe. Tom Widdop is onely lamed but recovers fast, and was able in two days to ride downe. That day Tanckard and his two Red Coats came and dined with me, after dinner Tanckard quarrelled with my son Tom and challenged him. Tom stole out of the house and mett them betwixt [here] and Swillington, made Charles the butler follow him with two swords. Tom and the other two charged theire pistoll as they went; Charles got to my son before they did, they threatened to pistoll my son for not bringing a gentleman, but Tom and Tanckard drew where after 4 or 5 passes they closed and fell into a ditch. Tanckard would not fight without he had the higher ground; at Tom's last pass he bent his sword neare to his hand either against his belt or buckle. The souldier went to Charles whilst the other 2 were ingaged and swore he would pistoll him if he did not lie down his sword, which he did, the other taking it up and broak it; then the two souldiers run to the other two who were strugling and disarmed Tom, and cut Charles twice across his head. As soone as I mist my son I got upon a hors without sadle or bridle and came just as all was done. You may believe I was in great confusion yet had that command when I see him well not to ingage further. I thank God he had noe hurt but a butt in his head which the souldier gave him."

Thomas Brathwait, J.P., to Sir John Lowther.

1688, August 23rd. Kendal.—"I did really designe to waite on you tomorrow night att Lowther (as Cousin William Fleming will acquainte

you,) but I am so confined with endeless and bottomless business concerning Clipping, daily examining and bindeing over, that I have not been master of myselfe a good while, nor am yett, that fatigue not being yett over."

—— to Sir John Lowther at Lowther.

1688, September 22nd. London.— . . . "The wind has been so long westerly that we know not what the Dutch Fleet design, but all agree 'tis for something extraordinary. Several towns are said to be beseiged by the French but no certainty."

—— to Sir John Lowther.

1688, September 29th. London.—"I suppose before the post goe the proclamation wil be out for recalling the Parliament writs; whether they will be revived I know not. I writ (as in my last) to my Lord Thanet concerning my son but have no answer; Mr. Musgrave also writ to him the same post, not having determined before to stand, but apprehending some new measures, as he thought, begun then to think on it, but he told me he believed that his father would stand both for Westmoreland and Carlisle, and if so there would be room at Carlisle upon his waiving one of them.

We cannot tell what to think of the Invasion; the King said he thought the Prince of Orange would goe on board as Munday next, letters last night say on Thursday or Friday, the Merchants' letters are wholy silent and all other news is from our Envoy in Holland, onely all agree in great preparations."

Jos. Reed to Sir John Lowther at Lowther.

1688, December 6, Carlisle.—"It's now discoursed here by Sir Christopher's friends that he intends to be governor here, and that soon, and they talk it publicly, the reason, because he and Sir George refused to sign a petition or to join with your Honour in anything. This Mr. B. F[eilding] told young Mr. Warwicke that your Honour dined at Sir Christopher's with Sir George, and that they absolutely refused to join with you but would stick by the King, as if your Honour were otherwise, I hope my Lord Carlisle or your Honour may expect to be served as soon as he, for I am confident both the other, as plainly appears by their actings, that profit is preferred before religion (*sic*); yet they must go still by the people here for the only loyal men and the upholders of the Church of England. Sir John I do all that possibly I can yet cannot get up the rents."

[J. Aglionby] to Sir John Lowther at Lowther.

1688, December 10, Carlisle.—"I delivered your letter to Captain C. and had a long discourse with him upon it, wherein I represented to him the untenableness of their post for want of men, provisions, &c., and the little grounds they had to hope for any assistance, insinuating also some designs upon them from their old enemies which (as I am since credibly informed) is very true. He seemed at first to be thoughtful, yet told me they had an assurance from the Lord Chancellor of Scotland of what men they needed which I scarce believe though I know they hold corre-

spondence with him and have had some expresses from him of late. At the last he told me he would confer with the governor and the lieutenant colonel (who rules all) and that I should have an answer, but though I have purposely stayed in town and have seen them all since several times, and that the last post brought them very unwelcome news (which I heard them read), yet they say nothing to me, so that I conclude they will take no counsel but in extremity and that nothing further is to be attempted that way. Mr. Fielding hath been very busy in misrepresenting your proposals to Sir C. M[usgrave] and Sir G. F[letcher], and would have it believed here that you signed ill things, but that Sir C. M. and Sir G. F. (being firm in their loyalty) would not join. Sir C. M. speaks confidently of his interest in Westmoreland and gives out he will not spare money in the business of elections there. On Wednesday last Sir C. M. sent in great diligence to Carlisle, and a common council being called a letter of his was read wherein he recommended himself or his son ('tis said his younger son) to serve them in parliament, proposing the privy purse for another, but the privy purse being rejected with contempt he immediately joined Captain Bubbe who stands also for a member. Before I got to town they had given a great treat to the most considerable men of the corporation and 'tis said have carried on their business a great way so that by what I can yet learn it will be a matter of much difficulty and expense to prevail for a new man. However I have sent out some of the most considerable men here to observe and take measures of the strength of our adversary, and also to try how the common people stand affected to my Lord C., and till I have an account from them how things are like to go I have suspended the making any public or direct proposal, although I have declared that I intend to do so if the thing appears feasible. You shall hear from me in a week's time, otherwise you may conclude that matter at an end. Sir G. F. wrote in behalf of the privy purse, undertakimg for him (as he had for himself) that he would be for the support of the Protestant religion and property, but all was to no purpose. Mr. Fielding tells the people here that my Lord C. makes no pretensions to recommend any to them, but that what is said by me is by your direction only in opposition to Sir C. M. and Sir F. G.

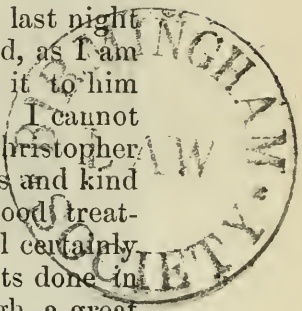
[P.S.]—There was a sham story spread abroad last week that the garrison under the pretence of making an alarm designed some ill thing upon the townsmen here, in so much that the people sat up in their houses one whole night, and Captain Bubb having done something in favour of the town hath gained some interest by it, though the wiser sort ridicule the whole matter."

Jos. Reed to Sir John Lowther at Lowther.

[1688, Dec.] 15th instant.—" On Sunday morning last I went for Durham having business to do that required my being there and at Newcastle. I got home last night and was presently sent for to the Governor, who asked me where I had been, I told him, he asked me if I had not seen your Honour, I told him not, however it's believed otherwise. Honoured Sir, having this safe bearer, have writ this till I see your Honour to beg that you will have a care of your person, for I believe the seizing of those arms hath exasperated some here, that it's good to guard against. But I hope you need no premonishing, for the news from York I know you have. Here came some more papists in here last night from Berwick but I know not their names."

Jos. Reed to Sir John Lowther at Lowther.

[1688, December 16] 7 o'clock Sunday morning.—"Not hearing of anything till just now that one comes and tells me the town is surrendered to Sir Christopher [Musgrave], who came in it seems last night by consent, for he had the word and so went into the castle and, as I am told, the Governor told him he might yield and would give it to him sooner than any, so delivered up all the keys and everything. I cannot but admire the proceedings of the last night and to hear Sir Christopher and all those officers in the garrison before to be so gracious and kind now. I know not how they will use me, but I expect no good treatment from them however will see something further; they will certainly write by to morrow's post to give an account of the great feats done in taking the garrison. I cannot tell how to add further, though a great deal might, but I am, &c.



[P.S.]—It seems the mayor and all men was forthwith sent for by Sir Christopher and much joy expressed on both sides.

The gate is but now opening and the Mayor and his brethren the aldermen are waiting at Mr. Basyll Feilding's where two sentries are, for Sir Christopher laid there last night, and now they are for going to church. I am further certainly told just now that they are at Captain Bubb's lodgings, first I mean Sir Christopher to signify to the Prince by an express that Captain Bubb betrayed the town into Sir Christopher's hands, and with much ado they took it, and so to know the Prince's further pleasure what to do, when now it's certainly known that Sir Christopher was sent for yesterday morning; but they must say something to clear the Governor and to make Sir Christopher great. This was told me after I had writ the other side."

J. Aglionby to Sir John Lowther.

1688, December 16.—"This morning I received yours and immediately went to Carlisle, but when I came there I understood the garrison was delivered up to Sir C. Musgrave the night before at one o'clock. 'Tis certain the Governor hath not dealt well with you and that he and Sir C. M. had concerted their matters before and made haste lest you should take the place by force. The late governor with all the popish officers retired this morning to Corby, but 'tis said they return to morrow morning the governor's family being still in the castle. On Saturday in the evening Captain Bubb went to Rose where Sir C. M. met him; they came to Carlisle together and were received at the gate by the Lieutenant Colonel, who gave Sir C. M. the word and advancing thence to the castle was met at the gate there by the late governor, who immediately delivered up the keys of the garrison, and after a small treat Sir C. M. retired to his lodging. Basil Fielding hath treated you here with the worst language imaginable, and amongst others he used this expression of you, viz., 'God damn him for a whig, he pretends to do great things, but never did any good yet.' This was after you had seized the arms. Sir G. F[letcher] came to town this morning and this day is to be a day of rejoicing, preparations being making for that purpose. On Tuesday I intend to be at Lowther and shall acquaint you with what further occurs."

Jos. Reed to Sir John Lowther at Lowther.

[1688] December 17, Carlisle.—"Now at 10 o'clock some of the papists are going out of this town, and no body so great as they and our

new governor Sir Christopher and Sir George, who talks very big. I send my man purposely to signify that they are now going to Corby, and as their men tell me will be at Appleby this night; for Sir Christopher has given them a pass, and as they say hath directed them to his mayor's, Mr. Atkinson, who he says will let them pass and assist them. If you think to stop it may do well, for all this town is so dissatisfied with Sir Christopher and Sir George that they should let them go, so that they are almost mad; and not only that but those of the officers as Booth and others that could not pay their debts they put them out yesterday that nobody could arrest them. I am sure if your Honour cause your men to stop it will oblige all here except the governor and our mayor and 2 or 3 more. Our late governor has dealt very dirtily with those that had been kind to him here. They posted away for Squire Dacre's, and he just now came to town.

[P.S.]—There will be 5 or 6 of those men, they have I believe 200*l.* with them and very good horses, they have a guide with them and will certainly be at Appleby this night at Atkinson's, but believe it may be late if they stay anything at Corby."

Tho. Addison to [Sir John Lowther].

1688-9, January 1, Whitehaven.—"I am heartily troubled and ashamed that a parcel of inconsiderate hot-headed men should give your Honour (the only aid, support, and defence of our country) so unreasonable a charge and disturbance in sending men and arms to join them in a project not in your power to carry on. All the world sees your worth in complying with all things that may tend to the public good. This might easily have been accomplished if the town had been consulted therein and the true plot laid. Mr. Sandforth and Mr. Simpson who have sufficiently acted their parts will give your Honour a full relation of the failure, to which I beg leave to refer you, with this faithful assurance that if I had been a party to the letter sent to your Honour or advised the thing, or if I had received your Honour's commands for carrying it on, I would have hazarded my life and fortune to have perfected the project.

When your Honour has an answer to what was written when I had the satisfaction to wait on you at Lowther, I beg the favour of a line.

Most heartily wishing that my good Lady may present your Honour with a son and heir for your new-year's gift, and that you may all live in all imaginable happiness for many and many years is the hearty prayer of," &c.

The Earl of Shrewsbury to Sir William Rawlinson.

1688-9, March 4.—"The Commission for the great Seale being to be layd before his Majesty tomorrow morning, att his returne from Hampton Court, to be sealed in his presence, I desire you would attend then with the Great Seal at the Council Chamber about nine of the Clock."

The Earl of Nottingham to the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal.

1689, April 20th.—The King being informed that a great number of the Irish Clergy being driven over hither, many of them are in a starving condition, and being desirous to give them all the relief he can for their

support and maintenance; his Majesty commands me to acquaint your Lordships that he would have you forbear bestowing some of the lesser preferments in the Church, which are in your gift, for some convenient time, that a present provision may be made by sequestration for such of those clergymen, who shall be judged worthy by those whom his Majesty shall employ to that purpose.

The Earl of Shrewsbury to the Lord Chief Justice [Holt].

[1689?] May 4.—The King being informed that the prisons here in town are so full that great inconveniences are like to ensue if a Gaol Delivery be not speedily held, his Majesty thinks it reasonable that it should be done, which I am commanded to signify to your Lordship. And if there be anything to be done here in order to it, you will please to let me know it.

The Earl of Shrewsbury to the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal.

[1689?] June 13th.—The King commands me to enquire of your Lordships whether you have yet had any returns of the names of those put into the commissions of the peace who have taken the oaths, as also whether you have had an account that any of them have either refused taking the oaths, or having taken them decline to act, which it imports his Majesty to be informed in, and therefore if your Lordships are not already prepared to satisfy the King in these particulars, he would have you do it with all the dispatch that may be, and (if it be possible) before the Judges begin the Circuit; and an immediate account is expected into whose hands the severall commissions of the peace for each county were delivered. I send your Lordships inclosed a list of persons presented to his Majesty by my Lord Lucas to be on the commission of the peace for the liberty and precincts of the Tower.

William III. to Sir John Lowther Baronet First Commissioner of the Treasury.

1690, June 11th. Gayton near Hoylake.—"We are just going to embarque but considering how necessary it will be to have the rest of the money dispatcht unto us, we recommend this matter to your particular care. In like manner we expect that Provision be made to enable the Lord Ranalaugh to pay all those Bills which will be drawn upon him from Holland."

Signed.

William III. to the Same.

1690, June 18th. Belfast.—"We lately directed you to hasten to us the remaining 70,000*l.* with all convenient speed; as also to enable the Earle of Ranelagh to answer all such Bills as should be drawn upon him from Holland, which again we remind you of. And whereas we directed you to advance onely a third part of the money desired for the supply of the Vaudois, we now understand from the Earle of Nottingham that the whole sume is very impatiently expected from us; and therefore our Order is, that you go on furnishing the same in such methods, as our present service, and other occasions will permitt.

By his Majesties Command,

(*Signed*) Robert Southwell."

Sir Robert Southwell to Sir John Lowther.

1690, July 4th. From his Majesty's Camp near Goulding Bridge.—"It was on the 27th past that I layd before his Majesty yours of the 22nd, wherein his Majesty tooke notice of your extreame concerne for his Supply here, which was alsoe the argument of your former. He has since ordered me to acquaint you that he hopes the money promised to be lent in London would be made effectuall, in which case he expects that what hath been diverted by publick necessity from the supply of Ireland should thereout be made up. As alsoe timely provition thought on for the future support of this great Body which may yett possibly be putt on some seiges and difficult attempts.

We have just now advice that the Jersey Frigott is arrived in Dublin with 30,000*l.* and his Majesty is in care how to have it soone here where tis wanted enough, and indeed the Country feeles in consequence the smart thereof.

I know you partake of all I write to my Lord Nottingham. Soe that I will not trouble you with a repitition of our particulars here."

Sir Robert Southwell to Sir John Lowther.

1690, July 17. The Camp at Wells.—"On receipt of yours of the 7th which I had on the 14th, I lost no time to lay it before his Majesty. He read it with satisfaction, and yesterday sent orders to the *Jersey* frigate to hasten to Chester for the fifty thousand pounds which you hoped might be there on the 19th instant, and Mr. Cunningsby wrote by your conveyance. I will not presume to touch on our affairs here since his Majesty now writes when you are to partake."

Sir John Trevor to Sir William Rawlinson, Lord Commissioner.

1690, August 18th.—"I did this day acquaint my Lord Nottingham with the Circuite Pardon and some of the reasons why wee could not passe it: his Lordship said that the Queene and himself were surprized in it, and did much wonder that such a pardon should bee tendered, and his Lordship desired that you would come to him some time with the pardon, that his Lordship (with you) might peruse it. Pray my Lord spare some time to goe to him as soone as you cann, that he may see what carefull and reforming Judges wee have, that would with most religious eyes have hanged you and myselfe for passing such a Pardon when time was, which time I hope will neaver be againe. These men, that make such a noise about Blood, and yett are without any difficulty pardoning persons attainected of Murder and by that name too" (*sic*).

Memoranda on Trade and Plantations.

1690, September 11th.

"Affrican Companie.

They cannot return in time:—the Plantations ill supplied with Negroes the last year:—they therefore desire Convoy:—the Castles and Planta-

tions will be in danger:—betwixt 30 and 40 Ships to be employed, and about 40 Men a peece:—they would send before the end of October 16 sail:—12 are the ffewest they ought to send in October.

the Levant Marchants.

They desire the Convoy may goe the middle of October, that it may be att Messina the middle of Jan[uary] to meet the Turkey ships thence to goe to Leghorn, thence call att the several Ports of Spain:—there are about 16 may return of the Turkey ships from Messina by that time:—there are 6 Men of War of ours and 2 Dutch there to convoy them.

20 Days the usuall voyage betwixt Smyrna and Leghorn.

East India Companie.

Would send six ships would take up 600 men, 3 to be sent in Sept[ember] the other 3 in March. they have 2 in Milford haven, and expect 2 more dayly.

Spanish Marchants.

That there ships will be readie the last of October and may return the middle of March, there are no concealed seamen.

Presse warrants to be concealed.

a third Land men } List of Ships to goe.
a positive time to return } Commissions to be given earlie.

That as to this trade there may be a Publication by the Commissioners of the Customs, that the ships that are to goe may enter their Names Number of men and Burthens may be there registred by a certain Day.

6 Ships to goe to Leghorn with 40 men each that cannot return,
and about 5 to Venice and Zant.

Canarie Marchants.

If they goe out the 20th of Octo[ber] may be back the the latter end of Feb[ruary].

the Number 30 or 40. Men 600.

Bilboa.

If they goe the 31 of Octo[ber] they will return in Jan[uary] 8 Ships. 150 Men. One Man of War, to attend them.

Eastland.

50 Ships 400 Men in Ap[ril] next:—one 4th and one 5th Rate.
the Marchants would take the Marine men.
a ffith Land men.
the Convoy to return by a certain day.
a List of the Ships to be entered at the Customhous.
Bond to be given by the Marchants for their return.
Commissions to be earlie given out.

Endorsed:—"Trade and Plantations."

The Earl of Nottingham to Sir John Lowther.

1690, November 11th, Whitehall.—"I send you enclosed an extract of the Treaty with the Swisses, as far as relates to the payments that are to be made, and I desire you will lay it before his Majesty for his directions, that the Messenger may be dispatched by the next post, and I should be glad if you could let me have the Bills on Thursday next.

The Swisse Troops are to be 4000 men comprehending Officers.

The pay is 7 crownes per month for each man, counting 58 sols of french money to the crowne.

The Plat de Colonel	1160	livres tournois and 8 sols	per month
The Estat Major	800		

One month's pay to be advanced for the levys.

The first month's pay to be made at the first Muster on the frontiers of Swisserland.

The Pay to the severall Companys commences from the day they respectively march in entire Companys.

6000 livres tournois per month to the Protestant Cantons, but no time specifyed in the Treaty for the commencement of this payment, and therefore most reasonably to be computed from the day of the Ratification, viz :—November 6, 1690."

(Lord Commissioner) Sir George Hutchins to Sir William Rawlinson.

1690–91, March 7th.—"I have spoken with Mr. Dodson in reference to the warrants touchinge the 2 priests and truly am satisfied that as the matter now stands he ought to keepe the warrants and the rather for that the Chiefe Justice of the Common Pleas is out of towne and will not be here till next Satturday, wherein I think Mr. Dodson is just to his trust, I have therefore proposed this expedient, that Mr. Dodson make copyes of the warrants attested by himselfe with an acknowledgment that he had the originalls which he will not deliver out of his custody without other order, which I question not his performance of, and that hee'll be equally just to us as well as to the Judges, which I submit to your Lordship's consideration."

The Earl of Nottingham to the Lord Commissioner Rawlinson.

Wednesday.—The King would have one of the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal to attend him at my Lord Shrewsbury's office at 4 of the clock this afternoon; and your Lordship being in the best state of health I trouble *you with this notice of his Majesty's pleasure.*

The Earl of Nottingham to the Lord Commissioner Rawlinson.

1691, May 5.—Before the King went from Kensington his Majesty appointed Mr. Serjeant Powell to be Judge of the Common Pleas in Judge Ventris's place. But I am told that his Majesty at Harwich nominated Sir William Pulteney, for which reason I delay the warrant for Mr. Powell: and I desire your Lordship to send me word whether you have heard of any fresh warrant for Sir William Pulteney and what you know of the matter and to take no notice of what I now write.

Sir John Lowther to Sir William Rawlinson.

1693, April 5.—"I am sorrie I can now give you so certain and so ill an account off the affair, ffor being tired off the delays and uncertainties I daylie mett with upon the account, I presumed this day to speak to the Queen herself concerning it, she told me that notwithstanding shee had assured My L[d] Cheif Baron that tho he might now have the money yet he must expect it no more att anie other time, yett he still desires to continue ffor two terms, which to me is the same thing as if he had said always. As to the other tis certain he doth desire to keep it, tho it were but ffor a year, yett the King being resolute that he should not, he now saith that he hath it ffor life, but will submit it to the King's

pleasure if he pleas to command it, which no doubt he will, but in the meantime it stays till the King's answer come. Thus Sir you see the unavoidable delay, and that it is not the King nor Queen's fault but others, who will always be to blame."

The Duke of Leeds to Sir John Lowther.

1694, August 9th, London.—"I am but lately returned hither from the North, and have mett with no pleasing news since I came, but what Sir Henry Goodrich told mee this day, of your family being strengthned by another son to support itt. I assure you I partake doubly with you in the satisfaction, both as itt is an addition to your comfort, and that I think the Nation cannot have enough of your breed, and I doubt not but my Godson is secure from any diminution of your kindnesse by the increase of younger brothers.

The Fleet under my Lord Berkeley is going before Dunkirk, and that in the streights was att Barcelona when the last letters came from itt. I am not able to informe you whither itt will winter in those parts or not, that being left to Mr. Russell's discretion, but the Admiralty and Navy board have said they can provide all things necessary for it's stay there if itt shall bee judged convenient.

The Armys in Flanders remaine in their Station att Mont St. André, and there is not any likelyhood of an engagement, which gives us hopes of seeing the King back sooner then formerly.

In my late Progresse I visited 18 severall considerable houses, and am sorry that the distance would nott permitt mee to make yours the 19th, both because I heare itt is as well worth seeing as any of them, and more because I should have had the satisfaction of paying you my respects."

The Earl of Nottingham to Sir John Lowther.

1694–5, January 1st, London.—"I was very unhappy that my businesse here obliged me to come from Exton, when you designed me the honour of your company there: and should be very glad that the health of your Lady would allow you to return hither before I leave the town, for I long to talk with you to whom I can most freely impart my thoughts, and my sorrow too for the losse [of] the Queen who on earth had not her equall: But I will not dwell on so melancholy a subject, with which I am so affected that I could not help mentioning it, though I intended onely to beg the favour of you to send the enclosed to Mr. Swingler, to whom I did not know how to direct it: t'is in answer to one I lately received from him, which I have sent to you open that, if you will trouble yourselfe to read it and seal it, you may see his scruples, to which I think the articles were not lyable, and you will oblige me, if he has yet any doubts, to remove them, which none can so effectually do as yourselfe, because the measures you took with him in your building shall be my rule to decide the differences if there should be any, which I can't foresee, between us."

Lord Godolphin to Sir John Lowther, Bart.

1695, May 13th.—"One may well bee throughly ashamed for having been soe long without thanking you for the favour of your letter and at the present you sent mee, I took them both extream kindly from you, and it was a great pleasure to mee to receive any mark of your remem-

brance. I have endeavoured lately to deserve them by remembring the comands you left with mee in relation to Mr. Serjeant Rawlinson whom I earnestly recomended to the place of chiefe Baron, and made bold to putt the King in mind of your concerning yourselfe for him, which I am very sure has a great deale of weight with his Majesty, but Mr. Sollicitour, hee said, must bee Attorney Generall, and no argument was able to resist that; however I have given the King a hint of another thing just now upon his going away, which hee seemed to relish well enough, and which I am willing to hope may please Sir W. Rawlinson. At his returne, I shall watch it as well as I can, upon your account."

Lord Godolphin to Sir John Lowther at Lowther.

1695, June 20th.—"When the King gave the reversion after Queen Dowager of some lands in your Country to my lady Fitzharding I remember it was his desire and intention that, in case she found her selfe obliged to part with it, you might have the refusal, I know the King will still bee of the same mind, and my Lady Fitzharding having acquainted mee she is offered 3200ll. for her Grant, I could not but give you this notice of it, and shall bee very glad to receive your commands, if you have any on this occasion."

Lord Godolphin to [John] Viscount Lonsdale.

[*Top torn off.*]

"Your Lordship will perhaps wonder that I should trouble you with a letter from this place but the subject of it is not altogether improper. I have been told that your Lordship has bred for some time of a stallion that wee here in the South have in very slender esteem, and I have at this time a horse called Honeycom punch that I hope would bee very proper for your use. He is a perfect good horse, and of a competent speed, gott by a barb, and extreamly well shaped and very well limbed; if hee bee acceptable to your Lordship it would bee a great pleasure to mee that you should make use of him, and I will bring him to London this winter that you may send him from thence at the proper season of the year."

Lord Godolphin to The Same.

[16—] May 5th. * * * * *

"Your Lordship being soe good natured as to bee concerned for the Duke of Shrewsbury's health, I can now tell you that he is in hopes again that the quiett of his body and mind in the country may at last enable him to gett the better of his distemper; there's no discourse at present of filling his place, or the Lord Chamberlain's.

I am glad to hear for your own sake that you are grown soe great a philosopher, though in the country that's not of soe much use to you, as I think it would bee if you were here.

The King has been 10 days at Windsor and returns this night to Kensington."

Tenison, Archbishop of Canterbury to The Same.

1696, July 14, Whitehall.—"Ever since your Lordship's leaving this town I have been inquiring after such a scholemaster as might be fitt

for the carrying on your great and good design ; but I have not yet bin able to find one perfectly to my mind. The fittest I have mett with is one Mr. Coe of St. Giles's, who is a Northern man and known (as he saies) to the Archbishop of York. But he has a schole here and some boarders, and a wife and children ; and perhaps he may have great expectations upon removing. Your Lordship may, therefore, be pleased to acquaint me with your Lordship's terms, and how farr you may approve of a man in such circumstances. If I am capable of serving you here in this or any other matter, there needs only an intimation to (My Lord) Yours faithfully,

THO : CANTUAR.

Mr. Lock has brought up your Lordship's papers about coin with some notes upon them which I have by me. No other persons have seen them."

JOHN LOWTHER to THE SAME.

1697, June 9th, Dublin.

"I suppose your Lordship has heard already that our new Lord-Justices are landed, and the Chancellor with them. There is none here who pretend to any acquaintance or knowledge of him, but he has behaved him selfe soe well these four days he sat in Court, that there is great hopes of him. On fryday at night Sir Rich[ard] Lovings landed, who was at first feed in my cozen's case, and was wellcomd to barr on Munday with twenty guineas as retaining fees, soe that I hope to send a good account of his tearm's proceedings." . . .

LORD MASSEREENE to THE SAME.

1697, August 2nd, Dublin. . . . .

"I shall allways acknowledge, your Lordship's favour, in sending me such good horses, whose reputation shall not be lessened by my care, to make them as famouse as any ever was in this Kingdome, espetially the young Chestnut, which is the most improved horse, that I ever saw, for the time ; he is now matched for two hundered Guinys, each horse, halfe forfit, against Jolly Backus ; they are to run in Aprill, 1699, and I only feare they will pay me the forfit." . . .

THE DUKE OF LEEDS to THE SAME.

1697, December 18th, London.—"I am sorry your Lordship's friends are forced to give you this trouble att a time when wee all hoped to have inioyed your company, and when I doubt not but you have been told from Court that your presence would bee usefull. For my owne part I was so greived to hear of your intentions not to come to towne this winter, that I was not willing to beleeve Sir William Lowther when hee pretended to mee to have your Lordship's directions to desire mee to make your excuse to the King. But I did not do itt notwithstanding his desire, having no commands from yourselfe about itt. If I have done amiss I have told you my reasons, and hope you will pardon mee, but I will rather yett hope to see your Lordship in towne before the end of this Session. I can send your Lordship no publick newes but what you have from more knowing hands so that I will only make inquiry after my Godson's health, and conclude with much respect."

The Earl of Portland to The Same.

1697, Dec. $\frac{2}{12}$. Kensington.—"Je vous asseure que jay une joye tres sensible de me voir tousjours si fort dans vostre souvenir, et que me vous continuez tousjours lhonneur de vostre amitié, que jestime infiniment, et sur la quelle je fais fonds, je vous remercie de vos felicitations sur le peu de part que jay a eu contribuer a la Paix, le bon Dieu nous la coserve longtemps en sa grace. la presence dun aussi honeste homme et si capable que vous est si necessaire ici durant cette Session dans laquelle il ne sagira de rien moins que destablir cette Paix et nostre repos et celui de la nation, avec la Religion protestante par toutte lEurope, que si jamais vous avez fait un effort sur vous mesme pour cela, vous le devez asteur pour pouvoir estre en tranquilité a ladvenir, ainssi vous pouvez juger que moy, ni personne qui vous cognoist, et qui est bon Anglois, ne peut travailler pour vous faire demeurer chez vous dans un temps si critique, je puis vous asseurer que quant vous auriez des ennemis que je ne cognois pas qui voulussent vous mettre mal avec le Roy ils i travailleroit inutilement, car il a pour vous les sentiments que vous pourriez desirer, et quant je lui ay montre vostre lettre, il ma ordonné, de vous escrire quil conte absolument sur vous pour les raisons que je viens de vous dire, et de vous presser autant quil est possible pour vous faire venir au plustost, croyant que vous lui estes aussi utile pour son service que qui que ce soit le puisse estre, apres quoy je suis seur quil nen faut pas davantage pour que jaye bientost lhonneur de vous voir ici, et de vous réiterer les asseurances dune veritable amitié, et de la veritable estime et veneration dont je seray toutte ma vie," &c.

The Duke of Leeds to The Same.

1697–8, January 1st, London.—"I have received the honour of your Lordship's of the 23rd December, and am very much pleased to find there is hopes of seeing your Lordship in some short time. I have been confined to my chamber 8 or 9 daies by a severe cholick, and have not yett dared to go out of my house, so that I have had no late opportunity of waiting on the King, but I heare hee is not easy under the vote of reducing the army to so small a number; but that vote is so uncertaine in the meaning of itt, that there may be roome both to preserve that vote and to comply with that number which was said in the house of Commons that the King would bee contented with, vizt., 15,000 men; but whither the Country Gentlemen will bee brought to consent to that number I am not able to foretell, and I rather doubt itt under the management of the present Leaders, who are not very acceptable unlesse the withdrawing of my Lord Sunderland sweeten some of their tempers who suspected that Minister to bee apt to give such advice as would need the argument of a standing force to support itt. The weather hath been so fine here as makes mee hope itt has incouraged your Lordship to begin your iourney before this can gett to you, and I shall attend you here with great satisfaction."

The Earl of Portland to The Same.

[1697–8?] Jan. $\frac{17}{27}$. Kensington.—"Je vous asseure que ce mest une sensible joye de recevoir des nouvelles dun ami, que j'estime et que j'honore si fort, quoy que je sois faché de loccasion qui vous la fait escrire,

dans lestat ou estoit nos affaires je croy que nous aurions peu a apprehender les menaces at les vains desseyns des gens mal intentionez. Mais considerant lestat ou la nation va estre reduitte par le Bill qui se forme dans la maison basse, laquelle nous prive de toutte defense, et nous expose a tous les malheurs, nous avons raison de craindre puis que nous n'aurons pas les moyens de nous opposer au mal que lon voudra nous faire, et que cette occasion en fera naistre lenvie, mesme a ceux qui n'osoit pas i songer auparavant, je regrette vostre esloignement, vos sentiments sont si bons, vous avez tant a perdre, et vostre zele pour la conservation de la Liberté et la Religion de cette nation est si cogneue, que vostre presence ici j auroit fait grand bien, cette consideration vous fera peutestre encore haster de venir, comme je le souhaitte, cependant le Roy m'a ordonné de vous prier, danimer lhoneste homme qui vous a donné cest advis, de continuer a veiller sur les desseyns que nos ennemis pourroit avoir, et de vous en donner cognoissance, je me flatte de ce qu'une occasion aussi pressente me pourra donner loccasion de vous voir et que vostre santé vous permettra de venir ici je vous suplie de croire que je suis tousjours du fonds de mon coeur," &c.

The Earl of Portland to The Same.

[1697–8], Feb. $\frac{2}{12}$. Kensington.—" Il n'importe gueres gueres de quels sentiments je suis a vostre esgart, ne pouvant vous estre bon a rien, cependant vous me ferez justice en estant persuade de ma veritable estime, et de ma sincere amitié, Mais vous pouvez conter sur ce qui est plus estimable, cest les bons sentiments que le Roy retient tousjours pour vous, il me semble que cette consideration, et celle du zele que vous avez tousjours temoigné pour le bien de S. Mté., et du publicq, suffit pour vous donner du chagrin de vous reprocher un peu a vous mesme de n'avoir pas este ici, Mr. le Prince de Conty ma envoÿe deux Barbes, si vous le voulez bien accepter pour vostre haras, je vous en destine un et je vous prie de donner la commission a quelqu'un ici de choisir pour vous et de vous lenvoÿer, a moins que vous ne voeuillez envoÿer un palfrenier expres pour le chercher je vous prie de me faire scavoir vostre reponce au plustoit, parce que plusieur mont demandéz le second, je vous prie de me croire de tout mon coeur," &c.

Lord Godolphin to The Same.

1698, April 17th, St. James's.—" I was really in pain till I received the honour of your Lordship's letter, at my return from Newmarket last night, because I expected the horse while I was there from what you had said to mee, and knowing how exact you love to bee I was heartily afraid of some worse accident than it proves to bee. I am of the same mind to have him that I was when wee talked of it at London and will send one down about the middle of next month to fetch him away, provided always that if you find an opportunity of disposing of him to your liking in the mean time, you would not lose such an opportunity on my account.

Wee have had the Duke of Shrewsbury at Newmarkett in my house, but in soe uncertain and, I doubt, dangerous an estate of health, that to mee there seems but little hopes of keeping him long, which, considering what other prospects wee have to supply the want of him, is a subject too disagreeable to speak of, and as unfitt to bee spoken of to

you, who are apt enough to indulge your own melancholly thoroghly to the prejudice of the publick, of your self, and of your friends."

The Earl of Portland to The Same.

[1698], $\frac{\text{April 28}}{\text{May 9}}$, Windsor.—"Je minteresse si fort en vostre santé que je ne saurcis me dispenser de vous prier de men donner des nouvelles, j'espere encore quelle ne vous, empechera pas de venir encore bientost ici, et cela pour plusieurs raisons, la principale est que je suis persuade que cest air contribueroit a vostre restablissement et me donnerois les occasions de vous confirmer combien je suis," &c.

The Earl of Portland to The Same.

[1698 ?], May 1, Windsor park.—"Je vous prie de me donner des nouvelles de vostre santé, vous savez combien je mi interesse, j'espere quelle vous permettra bien tost daccomplir vostre promesse, cependant je vous prie de me permettre que je fasse mettre vostre nom dans les escrits que vous savez pour mon trustee ne me refusez pas cette faveur car je nay point dami au monde auquel je me confie comme a vous, Mandez moy un peu comment vont les changements car j'en suis tout a fait ignorant, croyez moy tousjours sans reserve," &c.

M. Ld. Pr. Seal.

Lord Godolphin to The Same.

1698, May 17th.—"Since I had the favour of your Lordship's last letter I have had another from the Duke of Shrewsbury with the confirmation of his health's being in a very hopeful posture, but at the same time, hee imputes it wholly to the quiett and idlenesse which he now enjoys.

There's a great project depending before the House of Commons at present which I find people are willing to flatter themselves may shorten the Sessions, but I must own myself not sanguine enough to expect the publick will have any great advantage by it. I shall not faile to attend very carefully the bill your Lordship was pleased to mention; some of the northern Lords in our house seem to think it against their particular interest, but surely the making a river navigable in any county has a face of being for the good of the publick. There has been endeavours to delay it, but it is to bee heard at the bar of our house either tomorrow or next day."

Lord Godolphin to The Same.

1689, June 23rd.—"I should sooner have acknowledged the favour of your Lordship's last letter if I had had any thing worth that trouble, it's expected the Sessions should end presently and yett the 2 millions are not passed in the house of Commons, though ther's a great majority of their small number for the bill; nor is the dispute arisen between the 2 houses upon the forme of carrying over the impeachments at an end, but I incline to think one day more will agree that matter."

Lord Godolphin to The Same.

1698, July 19th . . . . "The king went away this morning as soon as 'twas light; the Lords Justices are the same as last year, except my Lord Marlborough and Mr. Montague in the room of my Lord Shrewsbury and Lord Sunderland, no Chamberlain nor Secretary of State made. His Majesty as I am told has left abundance of orders at the Treasury and elsewhere sealed up with particular directions not to bee opened, till hee was embarqued; there have past since I had the honour to see you many incomparable things of severall kinds, the particulars of them are not very proper for a letter, but I shall not forgett them, I hope, before I have the happynesse to see you again. I hear of severall new titles given but no Dukes made, to the no small disappointment of a noble Lord of our acquaintance which perhaps may afford some diversion next winter, to you, I hope, as well as to my Lord."

Viscount Weymouth to The Same.

1698, July the last, Drayton. . . . . "I have already told my sister how prosperously wee performed our whole journey, and now wee begin to provide for another to L[ong] Leat, which I would bee glad might bee the last of this yeare, for the prospect of frequent removes is not very pleasant to a crasy old man.

My son and daughter have bin with me some time, but are going to see his estate in Shropshire, to return hither, before wee leave this place. They are neither of them soe fat as when I last sawe them, but when the losse of my dear boy will bee repeired God onely knowes."

Lord Lucas to The Same.

1698, November 1st, Tower:— . . . . "Wee have set up a fourteen stone Plate at Newmarket, the first horse One hundred pounds valew in Plate besides the fashion, the Second Horse fifty pounds, the subscriptions are almost full." . . . .

Lord Coningsby to The Same.

1698–9, January 21st, ... "I can't tell you how much you are wanted heer att this time of difficulty, and yett I love you to well to wish you from the quiett you injoy in the middle of soe much uneasiness as I am sure you would find heer. I can see noe hopes of any advantage towards you from my great relation . . for whilst his extravaguancyes increas att the rate they doe I supose his own debts enterteyn him sufficiently."

Lord Godolphin to The Same.

[1698–9, January.]—"I have the honour of your Lordship's letter, and am always sorry that you should ever receive a mortification, but I hope this may not prove soe great a one to your Lordship as it will bee to your friends not to have the pleasure of seeing you here; severall of the Lords to whom letters have been written by order of the house, as to your Lordship, have written answers to my Lord Chancellor that they have been hindred by the gout, or other indisposition [*top of paye worn off*] faile to doe it, as soon as they had recovered their health. These excuses have been received, and your Lordship's I make no doubt will

goe too, but it must cost you the trouble of a letter to my Lord Chancellour and that letter must be red in the house, from which a rise will bee taken to excuse you; but I was in hopes that an Appeal lodged against you in the house yesterday, upon which a month's time was given to putt in y . . . . [*torn off*] pen to have come amongst us again, though if you find it inconvenient in other respects, I beleive you need not doubt the justice of the house, nor the attendance of your friends upon that occasion.

The bill for disbanding the Army is at last committed in the house of Lords and I beleive will passe, not but that the force maintained by it is generally thought too small, but that soe great a division and distraction as the losse of that bill would have proved of worse consequence, and harder to bee retrived again."

M[ary] Lowther to The Same.

1698-9, February the 16th, [London].— . . . .

Our Parliament is nothing but a nest of strife and contention. God knows how they will end, for they have don no good yet nor none seems likely. . . . .

The Earl of Portland to The Same.

[1698-9 ?], March $\frac{9}{19}$, Kensington.—"Jay receu vostre tres agreable lettre du 13me passé, jay choisi pour vous, de mes deux barbes ce qui est assez aise, car il me semble quil i a grande difference de lun a lautre, celuy que j'ay donné lannee passée au Roy est mort, je vous remercie de ce cheval que vous voulez menvoyer, mais devant touttes choses nous devons nous mettre en peine de faire en sorte que nous puissions nous en servir en paix, ce que nous ne pourrons certainement pas faire si les affaires continuent sur le piet quelles vont asteur et pour cest effect il faut que les honestes gens mettent la main a l'oeuvre, jespere que vostre sante vous permettra de venir ici au plustost, car jay ordre du Roy de vous escrire de le vouloir faire sans perdre du temps, pour estre employé a vostre contentement et satisfaction, je ne vous en diray pas davantage par cette lettre esperant d'avoir bientost lhonneur de vous voir, je vous prie seulement de me faire reponce au plustost, et de croire que je seray toutte ma vie avec sincerité," &c.

Lord Somers to The Same.

1698-9, March 11th.—"Tho I had very great reason to make my farther acknowledgments of your Lordship's repeated favours in respect to the clamours very unjustly endeavourd to be raisd upon the account of the Fee farm Rents, yet I was scrupulous of giving you the trouble of a letter meerly upon that account. But I am very glad to lay hold on this occasion to do it, which Mr. Wybergh has given mee by petitioning the House of Peers yesterday against your Lordship, because your answer to his appeal did not come in within the time given by their Lordships. The House have given ten days farther time to your Lordship, but I think myself obliged to intimate to you, that it seemed not to be very well taken that the first time was not complyed with, and therefore I hope your Lordship will give orders to your Agents to take care the answer be in before the ten days bee past. I had hopes we should have seen your Lordship in town before this time that I might have had means of expressing this personaly to you.

I am assured that such effectual care is taken for payment of the Pensions for the future that there never shall be any just occasion of complaint. I perceive by Mr. Heyhurst's case, which he shewd mee, (and came to mee, as he said, by your Lordship's command), that some letters between him and the Auditor gave occasion to the obstruction which was given. One or both of them, and they only, were in fault."

The Duke of Leeds to The Same.

1699, May 19.—"This is in the first place to wish you as much joy as your own heart can desire of the high station [Lord Privy Seal] of which your Lordship is now in possession, and I must pray your Lordship that you will please to give the inclosed memorial to his Majesty and receive his answer to it.

I do likewise pray to know his pleasure about Hull, and the lieutenancy of Yorkshire, and in case he intends my removal from those, I pray that I may also receive my arrears as governor, which are due for a great while, and, unless his Majesty's displeasure reach to every branch of my family, I pray my brother Osborne may be continued in his place of lieutenant governor, who hath been a thorough voter always for the court in parliament, and to whom heretofore the King promised a compensation for his remove from the place of a riding surveyor in the Custom-house. This is too much to charge so good a friend with all but I hope hereafter to be as little troublesome to your Lordship."

William, Marquis of Halifax, to The Same.

1699, May 31, Rufford.—"I am to return your Lordship thanks for the honour of your letter of the 27. I was in hopes it would have told mee, I should have seen you here which would please mee so much, that your Lordship must permit mee still to expect you,—and indeed I could not persuade myself to desire it, if I thought it were any inconvenience or hindrance to you in your journey. My coach shall not onely waite upon you to Sir William Ramsden's, but shall meet you at Grantham or Newark if you please to command it. In the meantime pray, my Lord, do not allow such a melancholy consideration to take place that your freinds what are at a distance should bee unreasonably weighty as to overload business. I do rather suspect those who are at present the nearest to you will bee the more dangerous, and give less quarter."

The Earl of Bath to Lord ———.

1699, July 1, St. James's.— . . . . "I send enclosed a copy of the last warrant I received from the late Queen of blessed memory, to whom the King during her said Majesties life left intirely the ordering and governing St. Jameses Parck, as I conceave is not unknown to your lordship, and since her Majesties death hath declared that the same orders shall be still observed untill his Majesties pleasure be signifyed to the contrary; and on this occasion it may not be improper to informe your lordship with a particular passage relating to one of your predecessors in your office of Justice in Eyre, the late Lord Lovelace, who, sending his warrant for killing a buck in St. Jamses Parck, which being refused, came the next day in person there and killed the said buck, whereat the Queen was much offended and gave that Lord a seveere reprimand, but afterwards upon his submission and further

application to her said Majesty she was pleased to order by her personall command that the said Lord Lovelace, or the Justice in Eyre for the time being, should enjoy the same priviledge in the said Parck, as in the former reignes of her Royall unckle and grandfather, when Phillip Earle of Pembroke and George Duke of Albemarle were Rangers of St. Jameses Parck, commanding me to signify the same to the said Lord Lovelace, as I did in the words following, *videlicet* That it was her Majesty's pleasure the Justice in Eyre for the time being should have every yeare a buck and doe of each season for his owne use, not by his warrant but by his verball intimation to the Keeper, which course and noe other hath been observed by the Earle of Abbington as well as the Lord Lovelace, your two best predecessors in the said office, with mutuall satisfaction on all sides without any dispute."

Mr. Secretary Vernon to Lord Lonsdale.

1700, May 23, Whitehall.—"You will see by the inclosed letter from his Majesty that I have received your Lordship's of the 20th instant, and have layd it before the King, who has commanded me to acquaint you, that hee gives you leave to go into your owne country for the recovery of your health, and as to the Seale hee would have you take the same method for the dispatch of the business that you used when you went into the country the last year, or if you have thought of any other way that is more convenient his Majesty will readily comply with it, so as it dos not import a resignation, since his Majesty hopes for your recovery and is very unwilling to remove the Seale into any other hand."

William III. to The Same, Lord Privy Seal.

1700, May 23rd, Hampton Court. — "J'ay este extrement marri d'aprendre par la lettre que vous aves escrit au Secretaire Vernon que vous avez trouve si peu de soulagement en vostre sante au bains, que vous estes oblige de songer d'aller ches vous en esperance d'y trouver plus de soulagement, ce que je vous souhaite de tout mon cœur, et suis tres content que vous y allies, quoy que j'aurois extrement souhaite de vous avoir aupres de moy en cette conjuncture ou j'ay plus besoin que jamais des personnes en qui je me fie autant qu'a vous, et pour que j'ay autant d'estime. J'espere que le bon Dieu vous rendra bientost vostre sante et que vous reviendres le plustost qu'il vous sera possible ; cependaut vous poures faire avec les prevy ceaus, comme vous aves fait l'anne passe quandt vous esties absens, ou de telle autre maniere que vous trouveres convenable, mais j'espere que vous ne songes pas a quitter mon service, fut tout a present que j'eu ay plus besoin que jamais, et que je n'y poures point consenti, ayent autant d'estime et d'amitie que j'ay pour vous, dont je seres tresaise de vous donner des marques en toute sorte d'occasions." William R.

Holograph.

Sir G. Rooke to The Same.

1700, May 25, *Shrewsbury* off the Maes.— . . . . "I have beene att the Hague by the King's direction to conserte matters relating to the execution of my Orders, and I think everie thinge adjusted, but the poynts of Salutes of the Flagge and Command, in case we joyne the Swedish fleete ; which I find must be left a little too much to me,

though I am sure whatever I suffer the honoure of the Flagge of England shall never be exposed under my direction.

On this, and another occation that I had of conversing with the Pentioner, I cannot but thinke him in my poore opinion an able minister and a verie honest man. I have beene att sea, but putte backe againe by contrarie winds and bade weather, in which I mett with some of those ill accidents I always apprehended from our stay on this Coast, tho' happily nothing more than we can repaire heare, and I hope I shall be readie to prosecute my Orders upon the first favourable opertunitie of a winde, tho' I have noe more then nine Dutch shipps of the line yett joyned me, in which number are the Admirall and Reare-Admirall, and what I am further to expect is the Vice-Admirall with three ships besids himselfe, which makes theire squadron thirteene of the line; soe that if our appearance disposes the Northern Crownes to an accommodation, I must conclude they are not verie intent upon quarreling. If your Lordship's curiositie inclines you to know what was concluded at the Hague, Mr. Secretarie Vernon will informe you, to whome tho' I wrott in hast, I thinke I gave a full account of everie particular." . . . .

Mr. Secretary Vernon to The Same.

1700, May 28, Whitehall.—I have the honour of your Lordship's letter of the 25th and have presented the inclosed to the King who is very well satisfied that your Lordship will take the Seals with you to your owne house and I have orders to speak to Sir Robert Cotton and Sir Thomas Frankland, that your pacquets should bee conveyed backward and forward free of charge. I shall see them to morrow and advise with them how they would have the King's pleasure signified in this behalf. . . . . I am sorry Mr. Wandesford's business has failed at least as to the height of his expectations. My Lord Keeper I find is grown uneasy at this gentleman's being recommended to him, having as I hear a brother of his owne to put into the employment of Purse Bearer, which hee says is so great a trust that hee can't think of putting it into the hands of any one that is a stranger to him. Besides speaking of it to me with some concern when I waited on him upon Saturday last, his Lordship writ about it the next day to my Lord Jersey, who I suppose has let him know that though the King would have been glad this gentleman had been more agreable to him, yet hee did not intend to impose any one upon him whom hee might have exceptions against." . . . .

The Earl of Portland to The Same.

1700 [June 16].—Whitehall. "Vous ne pouvez pas me croire vostre ami et serviteur autant que je le suis et me laisser si longtemps sans me donner des nouvelles de vostre santé, pour laquelle je m'interesse plus qu'homme du monde, Mr. Flemming ma dit avoir ouy dire que vous vous portiez un peu mieux, je le souhaitte de tout mon coeur, vous supliant que durant mon absence du pais, vous ne me laissiez pas dans lincertitude, mais que quant vous ne mescririez pas vous mesme vous fassiez savoir a Mr. Flemming comment vous vous portez, il ma promis de mescrire en Hollande, pour ou jespere de partir demain, et je vous suplie de me faire la justice destre bien persuadé quil nest pas possible destre avec plus de passion ni de sincerité que je seray tousjours," &c.

William III. to The Same, Lord Privy Seal.

1700, July 2nd, Hampton Court.—"Je fais estat de partir apres demain pour la Hollande, je gene tres marri que votre sante ne vous a pas permis d'estre aupres de moy pendant mon cejour icy, j'aprens avec bien de la joie qu'elle commence a se remettre, jespere qu'elle vous permessera bien tost de revenir pour assister au gouvernement en mon absence, ou du moins qu'a mon retour j'aures la satisfaction de vous trouver en parfaite sante, ce que je souhaite avec beaucoup d'ardent et que je puisse avoir bien des occasions a vous donner des preuves de mon amitie."

William R.

Holograph.

The Duke of Leeds to The Same.

1700, July 6th, Thorp-Salvin.—"I am informed that you are gott safe to Lowther, and that you find your selfe much better in your health then you were at the Bathe. I heartily wish itt bee so, but I cannot bee satisfied till I have itt from your selfe. I trouble your Lordship therefore with this to pray that I may know how itt is with you, and if you bee well enough to write newes, I should be glad to heare what you thinke of the state and temper of your neighbours the Scotts, and whither you thinke wee are in any danger of trouble from them. I am sorry my distance from your Lordship is too far for mee to make a visitt, but I have found my journey from London hither very uneasy, and have not had any good health since my coming hither. My blessing I pray to my Godson. [P.S.] If your Lordship gives your selfe the trouble of writeing hither you may please to direct your letter for me att Thorp-Salvin by Doncaster bagg, and I do not know whither this have a right direction to your Lordship."

Lord Somers to the Revd. ————.

1702, April 4, Saturday.—"I had the favour of your letter last night. I think the most usefull answer I can make to it is to lay before you the matter of fact relating to the Bill for settling Sir Thomas Cook's charity. The Bill was reported from the Committee on Thursday last and was then ordered to be ingrossed, and to be read the third time on Fryday next. The Earl of Winchelsea desired it might be read in a full house and that the House might be summoned for that purpose, because he knew there would be opposition made to it, and that was readily consented to.

I have communicated your letter to several Lords who were of the Committee, and they all said that the Committee being now at an end they could propose nothing thereupon, but that you would instruct such Lords as you think most proper to trust with the reasons of your dislike of the Bill, that so they may be prepared to speak against it at the third reading; which is all that is now left to be don in the House of Lords. As to what relates to my self I will not fail to acquaint the House with the letter you were pleased to send mee. I shall only add that no man does more truly wish the prosperity of the University or would be more glad to contribute to it in any manner than myself."

——— to ———.

1703–4, February 10th, London.—"I was ordered to goe to Portsmouth in so much haste that I had not time to give you any account

of it having only had notice the afternoon before I went. [*Here follows a passage in shorthand or cipher.*] My chief business was to deliver arms and tents, &c., to the ten regiments that are going to Portugall. The King of Spain was all the while in the town of Portsmouth and I went every day to his dinner and supper where I used to meet the Duke of Sommersett and Duke Schombergh and all the English and Dutch Generall Officers. I became very well acquainted with both the Dukes, who present their service to you. I used to be talking French every day with the King of Spain's Gentlemen of the Bedchamber and other Officers, and the Emperours and the Portugall Ambassadour. The Prince of Lichtenstein is cheif Minister and Governour. The King is a very pretty gentleman, about 19 years old, pretty tall and slender, his face long, fresh coloured, dark brown eyebrows, very good eyes, of an easy and obliging behaviour, he talks high Dutch, Italian, Spanish and French very well, understands Mathematicks and Musick, he is certainly a young Gentleman of a great deal of spirit and a very hopefull Prince, he has about 300 Germans with him of all sorts." . . . .

THOMAS, LORD WHARTON to ——

1705, April 24.—" I have the favour of yours of the 19th of this month. It hath been all along a trouble to me to find that Sir Richard Sandford and yourself have not had that mutual confidence in one another that I should have thought you reasonably might have had. I wish to God I could have credit enough with both of you, to prevail with you both to stand and fall together; 'tis what I have often said to him here, when he hath complained of your not having mentioned him, as you sent round the country, and 'tis what I can, therefore, with the more freedom now say to you; and I will hope, that now you are both in the country together, you will both join heartily, and in good courage, in serving one another, to serve the public by opposing the common enemy: This is what I heartily wish, and would endeavour to bring about, had I the honour to be with you: But as I am all this distance, I can only tell you my honest thoughts, and be as good as my word to you both, in endeavouring to serve you both, to the best of my power; which I have directed, and will do to the best of my power."

[P.S.]—" The Queen ordered the writs last night in Council, to bear Testé the 2nd of May next."

H. M. to ———.

[1705, Nov.] Saturday night, 10 o'clock.

" I have scarce time to tell you this day's debate, it began about one o'clock, Mr. Baylay spoke first, and extremely well, and concluded with a motion, that for the future there shall be but one Councell in Great Brittain: it was opposed by Montgomery and severall others, who all agreed that it was very reasonable hereafter, tho' not att this time, and desired att least further time to consider of it. There was att least a dozen spoke, before any of us South Brittons interposed, and I believe it would have ended in a further consideration, had not the Secretary, the Speaker, the Attorney Generall and the chearful Admirall spoke; but after that, the Question for leaving the chair could not prevail, and the main question being putt, it was carried by a vast majority, there being no division, there being scarce twenty Negatives: wee had a

Gallery full of Peers, where some of the Northern ones were handled by their countrymen very familiarly: the Torys were very silent, and left all the play to us: The last bell rings, so my Humble service to everybody, from my sober cozen, to Boozy Mrs. Coll."

Tho. Hopkins to [Lord Wharton].

1705, November 29th, Whitehall.—"The house of Commons were this day in a Committee upon the Scotch affairs. The Question before them was, that there should be but one Privy Councill for Great Britain. The debate was carry'd on for near two hours, only by our new Northern Brethren; and they seem'd to be pretty equally divided; but the Southern Tories, and a great body of the Whigs joyning for the Question, it was carryed by an infinite majority without a division. It is impossible for me to give you any particulars of the debate, not haveing mett with any one member, that had either patience or parts to inform me, but only thus much I'me told; Sir Simon Harcourt was against the Question and Sir James Montague for it. Walpole (who will always be either laughing or talking) was against it; tall Sir Richard and Peter for it; the Chancellor mumm, and fought cunning the arguments pro and con. I am sure your Lordship has often heard in other places, so that it's needless to trouble you with the few I have heard." . . . .

The Earl of Sunderland to Lord ———

[1706?] April 2, , London.—"Lord Orford has spoke to Mr. Doddington about his being Secretary to the Scotch Commission, who made severall objections to it, but Lord Orford would nott take a deniall, but desired him to consider of it; I fancy he will accept of it at last. I have nothing more, worth troubling you with, but to wish you a great deal of success at Newmarkett, now and then a little walk on the Bowling green.

I hope you remember our Sunday appointment and that you will be in town time enough."

Ch. —— to [Lord Wharton].

[1706], May 6. Campe att Matick.— . . . .

"This day Monsieur Hope mett us on the march and told us the good news that Barcellona was certainly releived, which after our bad success in Italy comes very seasonably. We are to join the Duke of Marlborough after to morrow att the camp near Slonger, and it is not improbable but you may soon have good news from us, since I beleav it will be necessary for us to make our attempt before their troopes return from Germany; I am mighty glad to hear your Lordshipe has settelled such harmony amongst the Comissioners for the Union, and I hope it is a good step towards the rest." . . . .

—— to the Earl of Wharton.

[1709], July 13, Dublin.—My letter of yesterday was sent in great hast to the office for fear the Packet should begone, but the Lord Lieutenant having stopt it till this morning I have time to add that the Lords voted a letter of thanks to the Queen for sending over (some say the word is for restoring) the D[uke] of Ormond to the

Government of this Kingdom. Against this vote the Lord Santry in particular entred his protest. That the Torys had a majority of 10 in the house of Commons, but they being most of em in town and a great many of the Whig members in the country 'tis hoped that the latter will soon be able to make a very good stand. That yesterday the Convocation voted a letter of thanks to those Bishops that stood by the Protestors in the case of Dean Lambert and the late Provost relating to the papers that the Provost left in your Lordship's hands, and that this day they voted another letter of thanks to the two Bishops of Killaloe and Ossory who were sent over Embassadors in the same cause. * * * *

J. Forster to the [Earl of Wharton].

1709, October 11, Dublin.—"In my last to your Excellency I gave you an account that Mr. Blyth had a second time returned Mr. Ash as Portreeve, since which time he has committed such outrages in the towne that the people looke on themselves to be in a state of warr as by the inclosed examinacons will appeare. I thought it my duty by this post tho' very late at night before the papers came back to my hand to send your Excellency the earliest account of this matter, because there are not people wanting heere to misrepresent these proceedings; tomorrow the Council meet on this affaire. Considering how the majority of the Board incline I shal propose to have the matter relating to the force referred to the examination of judges of the Queen's Bench, who properly are the conservators of the Peace, and when they report the truth of the fact I don't see how Mr. Blyth's friends can avoyd comeing to a censure of him or makeing an order to restrain his exorbitant proceedings. At present nothing can be more agreeable to the towne than to find Mr. Blyth removed from the trust and power which he has used in violating instead of preserving the publique peace. This inactive part of the world affords noe news, tho' it abounds with fals and reflecting accounts not worth your Excellency's notice. Pray let my lady know I wil use my best endeavors to preserve her right in the burrough of Trim."

J. Dawson to Mr. [Joseph] Addison.

1709, October 18, Dublin Castle.—"The Councill having met yesterday according to appointment, the affaire of Trim came againe under consideration, and the Petition of Mr. Fox against Mr. Bligh, and the Petition of Mr. Bligh against Mr. Fox, complaining of force and breach of the peace on both sides having bin read, and a great number of examinations to justifie and prove their Petitions having bin produced, the Board considered how farr the matter of complaint was cognizable before them, and my Lord Chancellor proposed that the examinations should be sent to the Judges of the Queen's Bench, with directions to them to take care that the peace be preserved and an order was accordingly signed to that purpose. Mr. Bligh then stood up and moved that he might have the order of the Board to quiet him in the possession of the Magistracy untill it should be determined at law who had the right, that was opposed by my Lord Chancellor as a thing very improper for the Board, when they had signed an approbation for another man to be Portrieve. My Lord Abercorn then declared what the sense of the Board was, and the reason that induced him to signe that approbation was, that it was not intended that Mr. Fox should by that approbation be put into the possession of the office, but onely to

put him into a capacity to try his title which otherwise he could not doe without it, and appealed to the Board whether that was not their generall sense, which they all declared to be soe except the Bishop of Kildare. Mr. Bligh urged againe that Mr. Fox was no magistrate, not being legally sworne before the Portrieve or his Deputy according to the directions of the Charter; that matter of fact being averred, and the Charter being produced to justifie it, my Lord Chiefe Justice Doyne gave his opinion that Mr. Bligh was not legally superceded and therefore was still in the possession of the Magistracy. This matter was long debated, and all the Board agreed with my Lord Chiefe Justice Doyne that Mr. Bligh was not legally superceded, except the Bishop of Kildare who dissented from the rest when it was put to the vote. The Lords Justices gave noe voice nor opinion in the case. It was then moved that this opinion of the Board should be entred in the Minutes of the Councill Bookes, but it was strongly opposed by my Lord Chancellor, and after some debate it was let fall. At last to put an end to the matter it was agreed that Mr. Fox and the rest of the Burgesses in his interest should be called in and told that it was the sence of the Board that Mr. Bligh was not legally superceded, and that they should have a care not to breake the Queen's peace on any account, and accordingly they were called in and my lord Chancellor told them that it was the sense of the greatest part of the Board that Mr. Bligh was not legally superceded, and therefore it was the direction of the Board that they should take care not to comitt force, but to keep Her Majesty's peace, and then they were dismissed. This is a true account of what passed as near as I can remember, and soe it is quite taken from the Councill Board, and I hear the Judges of the Queen's Bench have bin upon it to day, and are to be soe again to morrow.

Mr. Prat has bin applyed to about the entertainment to the Lords Justices who used to be paid monthly, and he made answer that my Lord Lieutenant had given him no directions in that matter. I onely acquaint you with this because I believe his Excellency did not think of it.

Wee want three Pacquets from your side of the water, soe that wee have no letters to answer."

T. Southwell to the Earl of Wharton.

1709, December 17, Dub[lin].— . . . . "by the last Pauquetts are gone of for London his Grace of Dub[lin] and the Chancellor of the Exchequer with whom was to goe my Lord Havercorne, but the latter has thought better on't. The first is very full of the Palatine Settlement, and the other as I am told to complain of me for not signeing a warrant to pay him some fees I did not think his due. There being but three and I refusing the matter, itt coud not be done, so that the whole Party have fallen on me as if I had executed some commands of resentment for his late behaviour in Parliament, which I am sure I shoud have as much scorned to have obeyed for that reason, as you woud have despised to have given them, though justly enough provoked as I am told in particular by him. 'Tis to long to trouble your Lordship with the detail of the whole matter especially since Sir William St. Quintin is on the spot, and if itt be not to troublesome, can give you a full account of itt, and since I have done nothing but my duty and for the service of the Revenue I cannot doubt of your Excellency's protection in this or anything els."

The Duke of Richmond to the Same.

1710, 29th ——, Limerick.—"I had the satisfaction of receiving your letter a day after I came heither I am very glad you was received so well. I hope when I come into England (tho' a staunche Whig) I shall be received so tow. I am going back to Dublin and shall stay theire as little as I can. I hope your Lordship and the rest of my freinds are persuaded I will make all the hast I can. I have done all my business here effectualy for all the tenants have attorned to me, which if I had not come in person not one of them would."

Lord Dartmouth to the Same.

1710, June 20, London.—"The Queen haveing been pleased to make me Secretary of State, in the room of my Lord Sunderland, and to assigne me the Southerne Provinces, I thought it my duty to acquaint your Excellince with it."

The Earl of Sunderland to [Lord Lonsdale].

1710, September 30, Althorp.—"This is nott to condole with you upon your being out, I think the Public and your friends are onely to be condol'd with upon that account, butt to putt your Lordship in mind of the hopes you gave me, that I should have the honour of seeing you here, which I will hope for, if you can spare so much time from elections; I think by all we hear we are like to have very good ones, and if so, a good Parliament, and our success in Spain, will effectually retrieve everything; I hope Apulby is secure, since you have had time for a new Mayor."

Fran. Harrison to Lord———

1711, July 7, Dublin.— . . . . "I make bold to inclose you our Recorder's Speech to the D[uke] of O[rmonde] which has not only incenced him, but all his friends very much; there not being that flattery in it, that he has been accustomed to; I finde they are resolved to be very warm, and will endeavour to cast reflections, but I am of opinion they finde a very hearty number, that will make them a just returne, that we shall be persecuted is most certain; but as we shall have the greater satisfaction when affairs take another face, we shall bear all with resolution.

On Monday our house meetts, and as soon as his Grace has made his Speech I will make bold to send it you. Our Citty are still resolute in relation to their choice of a lord Mayor, what the event will be I cannot yett tell; but in a very few days it will be over." . . . .

Henry, Viscount Lonsdale, to [James Lowther].

1717, July 21st, Byrom.—"I was very much surprised at the receipt of your's the last night, to find that such a mark of honour is designed me, as you say the King intends. I believe you know me so well as to be convinced that this cou'd not be of my seeking, and I hope that nothing has dropped from you to any of the Ministers, which might induce them to believe that this or any other proffer was either expected by me or might be acceptable. I am afraid that a Court employment will require more attendance, than I

(who am att present very fond of the country) can have inclination to give, this single consideration wou'd I believe have hindered me from accepting this offer, were it not for the unhappy divisions that are amongst us. I fear that if I should refuse any mark of honour that is proffered me by the King, it wou'd seem as if I had greater expectations from another sett of people and had listed my self in their ranks, which as it is the farthest that's possible from my intentions, I shou'd be very sorry to have it appear so to the world. You know that I voted several times the last year against the Court, I am sure I need not to tell you, that the only reason for my doing so was because I thought it right, I hope I shall have no more occasion to oppose them, but whenever I have the same reason I shall always do the same thing." . . . .

ALAN CHAMBER of KENDAL, Agent, to JAMES LOWTHER.

1719, August 27th, [Kendal].—. . . . "I impute the general dissaffection:—1, to the too necessary continuance of land and malt taxes, which bear hard upon the circumstances of 10 in 12 partes as to number of the freeholders:—2, to the three partes in 4 of the pulpits from whence and their conversation out of the church too much discontenting matter is vented. But how these two fountains can be dried up is I fear above the reach of any human power. Two Assise Sermons, to wit at Newcastle and Appleby, were vented to such purposes in the last circuit, but were excellently refuted &c. by the Judges in the proems to their charges to the grand Jurys, to wit by Baron Mountague at Newcastle, and Baron Page at Appleby. I may add a 3d cause of the continuance of discontents, that is the visible unconcernednesse of private gentlemen (the hearty well wishers to the publick) and who by their daily conversation with their inferior freeholders &c. might easily demonstrate the necessity of taxes as a lesser evill then loseing our all, might as easily explode all sermons and discourses that are levelled against the publick administration. But it being the practice of the Tories when in power to prefer to the utmost all such usefull under agents in their interest, and of the whigs to neglect such their under agents, it necessarily folows that the Tory interest is generally better cultivated, their chiefs not so wholly ingrossing all places &c. like the other chiefs, but allso takeing care of their subalterns so much despised by, tho' so absolutely necessary to, the other party the which three sources of our evills are submitted to your consideration." . . . .

[SIR ROBERT] WALPOLE to VISCOUNT LONSDALE.

1720, July 24th, Whitehall.—"I had the honour of your Lordship's commands relating to Mr. Pennington and do assure your Lordship, that if I had at all apprehended, that it would have been agreeable to Mr. Pennington to be sent into Scotland, I would most readily have recommended him to the King to be one of the new Commissioners, but I always understood that a sinecure of about 300*l.* or 400*l.* per annum was his only view, and that no employment of business or personal attendance was at all agreeable to his life or circumstances, and had your Lordship been so free as to mention this to me, when, as I remember, I talked to your Lordship upon this subject, with regard to Mr. Lanson, I promise you, my Lord, you would have had no occasion to complain. It would be too great a happiness for men in high stations to have the opportunities of obliging gentlemen as fre-

quent as their wants and occasions, but I can with great truth assure your Lordship, that your recommendation shall always be a command to me and I am so far from wanting an inclination to serve Mr. Pennington, that I will certainly take the first opportunity of doing it."

ANTHONY LOWTHER to his brother VISCOUNT LONSDALE.

[1721–2] February 6th, [London]. . . . . "There was last Saturday such a Flame in the House of Lords that the like can not be remember'd; one wou'd have thought that they wou'd have unanimously agreed to have sent the Chancellor and all the Ministers to the Tower; it was occasion'd by the Chancellor not attending them till near four a clock, before he came they named the Duke of Somerset for Speaker, but the moment he heard of it he run out of the House, then they named Lord Lechmere, and he hid him-self. When the Chancellor came in (who had been detained all this time at a Cabinet Councell) some body moved that they might adjourn; upon which Lord Sunderland got up and said that their adjourning at that time he thought might be of ill consequence, that it wou'd be said without doors that it was done out of rage and resentment, then he advised them to have temper, and told them that if they wou'd but have patience for half an hour, that he himself wou'd then move to adjourn, however the Question was put and passed in the Negative by the usual majority, wanting five.

The same day a pritty remarkable thing happened in the House of Commons; a Judge was accused of having attempted to corrupt a Burrough. Sir John Cope accused Baron Page for having offer'd a considerable sum of money to the town of Banbury, to elect a friend of his the next election; he is to be hear'd at the Barr by his Councell next Tuesday."

VISCOUNT LONSDALE to [his Cousin] JAMES LOWTHER.

1723, September 26th, Lowther.—. . . . . "There is a story has been very currently reported in this country, which if it be true, you may very likely be better informed of att London, since in all probability it must have come to the knowledge of the Government, but as the matter was transacted a good distance from hence, and my intelligence of it is not very certain, I can only lett you know how it is told here. The Duke of Wharton went about ten days ago to his estate in Swaledale near Richmond, and Sir C [hristopher] Musgrave went along with him; when they were there the Duke took an occasion of treating about threescore of the country people, and after they had drank a good deal, the Duke and Sir C. Musgrave pulled of their coats and waistcoats fell down upon their knees and drank the Pretender's health by the name of James the 3rd of England and 8th of Scotland and obliged all the people who were with them to do the same. The noise of this was quickly spread, and the wives and daughters of the people who were in company came immediately crying to fetch their husbands away. Some of the men being frightened themselves went to make information of this to a Justice of Peace, but the Justice in all probability not caring to meddle with so great a man, told the people who came to him, that if they would bring the offenders before him, he would do as the law directed, but he would grant no warrant. Whether any part of this story be true or no, I can't pretend to say, but as I am told it was brought into this country by several people of that neighbourhood, and many of them were such as said they were present

themselves. If this be really as it is represented, I don't see how the Government can avoid takeing notice of it, for as it was done so openly and before such numbers of people it will be generally known, and every body who has ever lived in the country and are friends of the Government must certainly know the very bad consequences that will attend the not punishing so flagrant an action as this."

Henry, Viscount Lonsdale to James Lowther.

1725. September 11th, Lowther.—. . . . "I am not at all displeased that the Mayoralty of Appleby has fallen to Mr. Tufton for this year, it would have been more difficult for me to have regulated the expenses of it, if it had lit upon me now, than it will be when it comes to my turn the next year."

The Duke of Newcastle to Lord Lonsdale.

1733. July 21st, Claremont.—"I make use of the leave your Lordship has given me, to acquaint you with what should pass during your absence in the country. Nothing has happened in our domestick affairs worth writing to you; and as to our foreign affairs, you left us engaged in a Negociation with the Imperial and the Spanish Ambassadors, to find out if possible a new expedient for accommodating the disputes about Don Carlos in Italy, and we have at last agreed upon what seems to be the most probable method of doing it, which they have both sent to their respective Courts, and there is great reason to hope it will be approved by them, at least if one can judge by the opinion of their Ministers here.

The affair of the Polish Election, which is what most deserves attention, has not as promising an aspect as one could wish. It looks as if the Oath of Exclusion of Foreigners would be generally confirmed by the Dietines, and the French have worked so successfully for Stanislaus, that without force be used by the Emperor or Muscovy, the Elector of Saxony seems to have but a small chance for it. We hear the Treaty between the Elector of Saxony, the Emperor and the Czarina is as good as concluded, whereby Saxony guarantys the Pragmatick Sanction; how far the Emperor may think himself engaged by that to use forcible means in favour of the Elector, or at least for the exclusion of Stanislaus, is yet uncertain; he has indeed ordered some troops to advance to Glogaw, nearer than they were before to the Frontiers of Poland; yet this may be only to intimidate the Poles; but if force be used at all, it looks as if the Czarina was to begin. We have indeed sent orders to Robinson to dissuade the Emperor from it, but what effect that will have is also uncertain. The French still continue to talk big, and declare that the moment the Emperor, or the Czarina, which they understand to be the same thing, enters Poland with troops, they will attack the Emperor; and in this I doubt they will be too much encouraged by the behaviour of the Dutch. Five of the seven provinces have agreed to a neutrality for Flanders, that is, in case the French will agree not to attack the Low Countries, they will not concern themselves on what they may do any where else. This resolution they have taken without previously communicating any thing to us; and may lay us under difficulties.

We have reason to think, that France intends to find some way to insinuate to us their desire, that we would come into such an agreement for a neutrality; but I believe it will not be thought advisable on any

account. France would then have it in their power to over-run the Emperor and the Empire, on engaging only not to attack Flanders, and when they have succeeded elsewhere, they would undoubtedly do afterwards what they pleased in Flanders. The Actions in France, upon the rumour of a war, are fallen from 1800 to 1200. This is a circumstance that may make their Court think twice, before they venture upon it.

Our situation is in one respect very happy. We have no engagements but those that are publickly known, and consequently shall be at liberty to act just as the interests of this Nation shall make it advisable, and in that case whether it be Peace or War, I doubt not but we shall have the concurrence of the Nation. We have already, but that is a secret, and I beg may remain so, endeavoured to dissuade the Emperor from pushing things to extremities, and shall equally use our instances to prevent France from attacking the Emperor in case he should ; if we succeed in either, the thing is over, if in neither, we must then consider what part is right to take, for the interests of this Nation and the preservation of the general Balance of Power.

I have now given you a sketch, tho' not a very short one, of our present situation, and as anything material occurrs, I shall not fail to trouble you with it."

"My dear Lord, you allowed me to make use of another hand, which I only shall do for our Foreign Affairs. There is att present little stirring att Court. Sir Robert is expected this night, which will put things in motion. I conclude the G of B will soon hear of us. The King and Queen are in as good a way as possible, and as determined as we can wish. They talk of nothing but Elections, and show all that come to Court, how desirous they are of a Whigg parliament. Our accounts from the Country are in the main very good. Sir Robert has been prodigiously well received in Norfolk, which is a good thing on many accounts. In Gloucestershire, they have sett up two Whiggs, and I hope will carry it.

I go on Tuesday next to Sussex for a fortnight, when I beleive we shall find things pretty well. I shall not fail to give you an account of all that passes, but in return I shall expect sometimes to have the pleasure of a letter from you. Pray my kind compliments to Lowther. Albemarle and Arundel dine here to-day, and we will not fail to drink your healths."

The Duke of Newcastle.

1745, April 8th.—"Minute by the Duke of Newcastle of an interview of his brother (Mr. Pelham) with George II., and sent probably to the Chancellor."

[*Note at top in a different hand.*]

"To my B[rother ?]

The King has been worse than ever.

He had been promised the Parliament should rise in a fortnight.

Damn *it* and *you*, I shall be obliged to strike a strong stroke. My Brother replied very properly desiring him to do it, to which no answer.

The Duke's affair seems suspended.

That must be determined.

Lord Harrington is very impatient to give the King a final answer about the —

We all think we must meet this night.

At what hour ?"

WALTER LUTWIDGE and others to SIR JAMES LOWTHER.

1745, November 25th, Newcastle.—Gentlemen. We received your Express late last night and waited upon Marshall Wade according to your desire early this morning, who returned for answer, He was to march next day in pursuit of the Rebells, that he could not spare a sufficient body to drive them from Carlisle, and that he tho't the best effectuall method of doing it would be to beat the Rebels, and then of course they must evacuate Carlisle, which we dare say we all heartily wish may soon be the case.

Monday 12 a clock forenoon.

1745, December 1, Whitehaven.—Honourable Sir, Some of the Gentlemen of this country sent an Express to generals Howard and Mordaunt to pray some assistance from Marshall Wade to reduce the Rebells at Carlisle; and above we send you a coppy of the answer. The county is in the utmost distress from the Rebell garrison, and you would hear of an excursion of 18 or 20 of them to Lowther Hall, who were gallantly defeated by the Penrith gentlemen, but as we apprehend this garrison to be a resort for the disaffected Scots we are in hopes the Government will take care to rout them out immediately, and we apprehend that a few regular forces from Ireland assisted by our seamen and countrymen and a few of our large cannon from this place woud as yet easily destroy them, or a party of the troops from Edinbrough, but you will judge what is best, and are assured of our utmost endeavours for this Country. We make this application by desire of the Gentlemen of the County, as well as for our own safety. We are, Sir, your most humble Servants

WALTER LUTWIDGE. PETER HOW.
J. PATRICKSON. R. GILPIN.
WILLIAM [HICKS].

HENRY, VISCOUNT LONSDALE to———

1745, December 11th, Byrom.— . . . . "The Rebels having proceeded as far as Derby are returning Northwards, I hear they came to Manchester last night, and as they are three days march before Marshal Wade (who left Ferrybridge this morning and lyes at Wakefield to night in the way to Hallifax) I don't think it possible he can overtake them. Tis likely they will stay at Carlisle. How long God knows, but while they are there unmolested the countys of Cumberland and Westmorland must be subject to contributions and pillaging." . . . .

MRS. KATHARINE LOWTHER to MR. JAMES WATSON [her steward].

1745, December 22nd [Warter].—"I have received your letters and was glad to find by the first that you all got safe home and have been under great anxiety to hear what would become of poor Westmorland. I think you acted very prudently in leaving Meaburn till the Rebells were gone by, but am glad to find both you and your wife happened to be got back before the King's Officers came there as I don't doubt but you would make them the best accomodation you could and to be sure it was very right not to take any thing for the hay, &c. I hope the next post will bring us better news, I fear the main body of the Rebells

had escaped, as you don't seem to think the number at Clifton to be above 500, I beg you would continue to let me hear every post; as you know the letters from York are very imperfect."

Viscount Lonsdale to———

1747, July 14th, Lowther.—"I received yesterday the favour of your two letters of the 10th and 12th, the latter confirming what I believed before, that Sir Richard Hylton had no intention of standing for Cumberland. If there is not some mistake in respect of the Duke of Somerset's orders to his agents at Cockermouth, Mr. Simpson will certainly feel the effects of his resentment; for there is nobody more punctual in requiring a strict compliance with his directions from those that are employed under him, and as this character is so generally known, it is difficult to account for the different behaviours of Sir T. Booth and Mr. Simpson with regard to this Election, but as I hear there are complaints already sent to the Duke against Mr. Simpson this intricate matter will shortly be explained. I don't find that if the Duke's interest had gone in the manner you expected that it would even then have been an easy matter to have turned out B. (*sic*) Mordaunt. There are many Gentlemen of the country zealous for him, and the town's people of Cockermouth are afraid and unwilling to have the power of Election taken out of their hands. The buying a few Burgages for some years past, has given them the alarm, and though this attempt is now become impracticable from the excessive prices that have been lately offered for several Burgages of little or no value in themselves, yet the people's apprehensions will not suddenly be removed. I find this contest has made a good deal of noise, and bred ill blood, which must require some time to cool again, but as far as relates to Elections, I hope the mischief is over for the present and may by good management be retrieved."

Henry Fox to Sir James Lowther.

1755, February 12th.—"I have laid your request before His Royal Highness the Duke, who, with all his inclination to oblige you, cannot think of giving the L[ieutenan]t Govern[men]t of Carlisle to Sir William Fleming who sold out, and therefore has certainly no pretence to a favour of this kind."

Henry Fox to Mrs. Katherine Lowther.

1755, March 21st, War Office.—"I have the favour of your letter of yesterday's date, with the therein enclosed Representation, from three of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the County of Westmorland, that the road from Kendal to Penryth, through Shap, is made turnpike and that they will take care that the carriages be changed at Shap, by which means the troops may without any great inconveniency march from Kendal to Penryth without halting at Orton and Shap. I thereupon send an Order to meet Lieutenant Generall Skelton's reginent at Carlisle directing them to march through in a day from Penryth to Kendal, notwithstanding Orton and Shap is mentioned in the route waiting their arrival, at Carlisle. And I shall take care that no troops or companys do halt at Orton and Shap in their march between Kendal and Penryth as you are pleased to desire."

[The oregoing is in a clerk's hand.]

"I hope, Madam, You will excuse me that in this very busy time, I have wrote this by another hand, and believe me, with the greatest respect, Madam, &c."

Henry Fox to [Mrs. Katherine Lowther].

1755. August.—"The Marines are out of my Department, and entirely under the Lords of the Admiralty, who countersign all their commissions and with whom I dare believe your recommendation will have great weight. But Lieutenant Moore being Quarter Master as well as Lieutenant in Colonel York's, and so very near the top of the Lieutenants, I cannot but wonder he should desire a company of Marines, I think he is very ill advised. If he remains where he is, it may be in my power to be of service to him, and you may command whatever is so."

Henry Fox to Mrs. [Katherine] Lowther.

1755. September 29th.—"I flatter myself you will not think me impertinent nor be sorry when I acquaint you, that the King has declared his intention to make me Secretary of State and give me charge of his affairs in the House of Commons. I must not take the Seals till after the House meets because a debate is expected on the first day. You will immediately see the consequence of my having a numerous attendance of friends in this my first essay of Administration. I therefore beg, Madam, that you would be so good as to prevail on your friends to shew themselves mine, the night before the Parliament meets, at the Cockpitt to which place I shall have the Honour to invite them.

The good opinion of persons of your character and rank is the only support I am ambitious of in my new station, and indeed I will endeavour to deserve it.

[P.S.] Sir Thomas Robinson will go to his old place the Wardrobe, with 2,000*l.* a year pension for 31 years, or Ireland, and Lord Barrington will succeed me."

Henry Fox to Sir James Lowther.

[N.B.—From a copy in Sir James Lowther's own hand.]

1756, January 18th, Sunday one o'clock.—"Send me word how you do. I have heard last night, and this morning from good intelligence so much as makes it my duty to advise you to compromise this Election for one and one this Parliament, and stop there. It is my belief that we shall lose it if we go on. Upon my word of honour nobody knows or shall know, that I have given you this advice. And I will assist you with the utmost interest I can make, or service I can do you. I have no reserve about it. The Torys, the Scotch, are so much against you, so many will stay away, and give what they unjustly call your obstinacy as a reason for it; and my interest where it would otherwise be very strong is so broke in upon by Honeywood among the officers who are Members, that I fear you risk too much by persevering. I am so unwilling to give this advice that nothing but that the thinking it might be deceiving you or letting you deceive yourself if I did not should make me venture at it.

I beg nobody may know I give it, but Mrs. Lowther and Sir John Ramsden to whom I beg you to show this letter, and to whom, as well as to you I beg leave again to repeat, that I have spoke, and will

speak earnestly in your favour both in publick and private, being indeed with as much zeal, tho from many cursed circumstances not with so much power as I coud wish to serve you.

[P.S.]—"You see the consequences of mentioning this advice from me. It would take away your merit with h[is] M[ajesty] in doing it, and if you do not, increase the clamour so industriously raised against you. Wherefore again I promise you nobody shall know from me that I ever gave it, though I would have Sir J. Ramsden, for whom I have the greatest respect, acquainted with it."

Henry Fox to Sir James Lowther.

1756, January 20th.—I am really very sorry you are ill, and you have chosen an ill time to be sick, but you must not let your business make you come and risk your health, of much more worth than even Appleby.

John Robinson to [Sir James Lowther].

1757, April 24th, Whitehaven.—"Sir George Dalston and I got here this day about 1 o'clock where we flattered ourselves with having some account of you or further directions from you—Nothing being come, we were obliged to go on in settling matters as well as we could upon consultation with Mr. Spedding, &c., for the Election, since it was necessary to give directions to provide to-night, and have fixed things upon the following plan, which is much after that followed in the last; except that in this, we have laid down more restrictions to prevent fraud and the great abuses committed by the mob on these occasions—There are 7 Houses fixed for the entertainment of your friends, viz^{t} the Globe, Mr. Dixon's, *unlimited*, the House late John Lucock's, Ordinarys 130 —Wine 10 Dozen. Punch and ale proportionable—Two others at 50 ordinarys each— one of them allowed 4 dozen of Wine, and punch and ale, and the other punch and ale proportionable. Those provide for 350 at 1*s*. each besides the Globe which perhaps may be 500 and was the last 638, and we hope will do, though far within the No. at Sir William F[lemin]g's election charged to us, but as there will be more inspectors fixed, some other rules laid down, and the innkeepers are told they will be paid for no more, hope it may be managed to answer. It is proposed also to have 13 other houses, for taking off the lower class as much as may from the better houses, and small sums at not exceeding 4 guineas a house, many less, and in the whole 40 guineas, besides likewise some ale from other houses for the mob. These means it is hoped may lessen the expense at the great houses where it used to run high by the rabble getting in and stealing and carrying off all the liquor they could, and that we shall be at no greater expense than the last election, if so much. as we shall endeavour to take all prudent means to retrench.

We flatter ourselves we shall have some letters with your orders tomorrow's post, if you will not be down, and shall endeavour to do the best we can in every respect, and I hope to give you joy by the next letter of your seat, as there is not the lest appearance of any rub in the way. Sir George gave a ball at Carlisle the night after the entertainment and purposes to do the same here; As also to have several of the Gentlemen to dine tomorrow Tuesday."

JOHN ROBINSON to [SIR JAMES LOWTHER].

1757, April 30th, Appleby.—"I hope you have many hours since received the return of yourself as Member for Cumberland and my letter therewith with some account of the election. I have little to add to what then and before I mentioned relating it, except that Sir George gave a ball on Monday night to the Ladies at Whitehaven, entertained the Gentlemen at dinner Monday and Tuesday at the Flatt, and after a publick breakfast at the Flatt as usual was accompanied to the election.

I am sorry to say our shew at the Flatt and from Whitehaven on this occasion was but very poor, and indeed I was never so much mortified with the appearance of the Lowther interest before, though really was then much so. There was not above 30 at breakfast and not 40 I think accompanied, instead of 3 or 4 times the number as usual. Indeed there was two ways of accounting for it. One that the Gentlemen of the Williamite Society which takes in all the young ones almost had the night before, as on the Duke of Cumberland's Birth day, had a meeting, sat up all night and were left at *8 o'clock* that morning unbroke up, as such incapable of attending. The other, a notion that had obtained credit, that people were invited, and it was not general. This had arose entirely unknown to us, and contrary to our declarations."

WILLIAM PITT (the Elder) to SIR JAMES LOWTHER.

1760, January 15th, St. James's Square.—"Having in consequence of the honour of your letters just before you left London acquainted Lord Barrington that you was ready to agree that the subsistence should commence from the days on which such individual shall enlist, and having also desired his Lordship's opinion with regard to the other parts of your proposal, Lord Barrington sent me the enclosed letter [*missing*], to which I beg leave to refer you, as this contains all the points of objection to which the Secretary at War thinks the plan liable. I would submit it to you how far you may judge it proper to render the terms conformable to those of Colonel Hale's corps, as contained in the papers delivered to you.

In case you shall approve of the same for the body you may raise, there remains only to transmit a proposal, on that foot, to Lord Barrington through whose department alone it can pass. I beg leave to repeat here the real sense I have of the zeal and spirits for the King's service, which you have testified on all occasions, and to assure you that I always remain with perfect truth and consideration," &c.

HENRY FOX to SIR JAMES LOWTHER.

1760, January 16. Pay Office.—"Mr. Vaughan has, since you left town made an offer, which has been accepted, to raise five companies of 100 men each. One of which is given to my nephew Cornet Digby whom I had the honour to recommend to you.

It is my duty to inform you of this, and to thank you, as I most sincerely do, for your kind intentions in his favour, had your proposal taken effect. I am not the less obliged to you, and shall esteem it an honour on all occasions to acknowledge myself," &c.

Sir George Savile to Sir James Lowther.

1760, February 5, London.—"If what I am going to trouble you with can be of no use to you or the person who is the subject of it, you will I dare say nevertheless excuse me for the intention's sake.

It is said you are about to raise a regiment and that the officers will be, as is indeed probable, of your own nominating. If this be true I will beg leave to mention to you a person who by the knowledge I have of him would, I really believe, be of real service to any young corps. He is a Lieutenant in the Duke of Richmond's, to which rank he was raised from Sergeant Major in an old corps at a time they wanted some experienced persons to fill the subaltern parts of some new regiments, and though these Sergeant Lieutenants, as they are called, have certainly no claim to an extraordinary share of preferment, yet their farther advancement to companies is not unprecedented I believe.

I was very desirous of obtaining his assistance in my militia regiment but could not obtain it; but his readiness to give me what assistance he could, together with the particular talent he seems, to my little judgment, to have for military matters made me unwilling to refuse him this testimony.

His name is Atkins and he is I think oldest Lieutenant in the Duke of Richmond's."

The Duke of Newcastle to Sir Robert Wilmot.

1762, November 13th. Claremont, Saturday Morning.—"It is absolutely necessary, that I should have a safe conveyance to the Duke of Devonshire's sometime on Monday next. If none can be found, or you have none ready, I must send a person on purpose. Pray let me know what you have heard of him, if any thing, since I had the pleasure of seeing you at Newcastle. I must insist upon his coming soon to town. I see nothing will, or can be done without him. I am going to work with his Book, and wish I may find it, as it is there stated."

The Earl of Bute to Sir James Lowther, Bart.

1762, November 17th, London.—"I am extremely oblig'd to you for your kind and friendly letter; the Peace is at last sign'd, and such a one as this nation never saw before; but war seems to be declared at home with the utmost virulence; I am the mark for the party watch word, but the whole is a reality aim'd at the King himself, whose liberty is to be now decided on, liberty that his poorest subject enjoys, of choosing his own menial servants; the happy conclusion of the Peace has however drawn the teeth of faction, but they have made themselves desperate, and must persist in their presumptuous folly. . . . . My friends tell me, the House of Lords is to be the principal scene of action, where I am to be arraign'd, for the King's preferring the Duke of Marlborough a Tory, to the Duke of Devonshire a Whig, for making the Peace and being an Anti-German."

The Earl of Bute to Sir James Lowther.

1763, February 3rd.—London. . . . .

"Hitherto the Junto have ventur'd on no overt act, and content themselves with the little despicable arts of sowing lies, perverting well intention'd people; and tearing from me any little merit I can acquire; which to say the truth (as things are situated) is small enough; in short, in the midst of triumph any good act I am able to do, is so traduc'd, so many infamous falsehoods publish'd concerning things I never thought of, such inveteracy in the enemy, such lukewarmness (to give it no harsher a name) such impracticability, such insatiable dispositions appear in those *soi-disant* friends; that if I had but 50*l.* per annum, I would retire on bread and water, and think it luxury, compar'd with what I suffer.

The army rate, and the bill for increasing the Irish army, seem the only things likely to open the least opposition till the treaty comes over sign'd which we hope will be in a few days; when I hear, they are to make a last effort; much good may it do them; for the little plausibility they had will then vanish, by two great events, the offer made by us to Prussia to deliver up to that Scourge of Mankind Wezel, Gueldres, &c,; indeed the peace, I believe, already sign'd between him and Vienna, and 2ndly, the French abandoning all America and giving up their Louisiana to the Spaniards which is an undoubted fact; so much for politicks." . . . .

Thos. Worsley to Sir James Lowther.

1763, February 5th.—"I have had your horse at Mr. Hall's this week, have seen him ride him, and rode him myself every day, he went extreem pleasantly, and gently, and we both like him extreemly. I mounted him yesterday before the King and Queen, who thinks him a very fine horse, but not strong enough to carry his weight. I have only to add his Majesty expressed very graciously his sense of your kind intentions."

Lord North to Sir James Lowther.

[1763], February 21, Downing Street.—"Although Mr. Stanhope has called more than once at my house, I have not yet seen him, but he has been with Mr. Robinson, and fully stated his request to him. I understand that he proposes to be at my house on Thursday, and am unwilling to determine positively upon his application before I have had an opportunity of speaking with him. Nothing can in general be more inconvenient than the practice of permitting Officers of Revenue to resign their offices to their friends, and I have resolved never to consent to such resignations except upon very particular occasions. I wish Mr. Stanhope may be able to shew that his case ought to be an exception to the general rule.

When I had the honour of seeing you here, I fully explained to you my situation with respect to the office of Patent Customer at White-

haven. I mentioned to you, if I remember right, that the Patent Offices in the Customs were about the only places which a first Lord of the Treasury could bestow upon his own relations, and his private friends, [and] that I had never disposed of any of them in any part in Great Britain at the recommendation of those, who, on account of their interest in the neighbourhood, might be thought well intitled to recommend to the other offices of the place."

The Earl of Bute to Sir James Lowther.

1763, May 13, Knaresborough.—"Thank you a thousand times, my dear Sir James, for the curious enclosures you have sent me, on my word I expect to hear of the Standard of Rebellion being rais'd before I reach town, and that sedition once more takes the field in this country; Parliament alone can now restore vigour to the laws, and secure our Constitution, and I shall wait with unusual impatience for its meeting, in the mean time I struggle hard for health; and shall certainly reap some advantage from my house and exercise, but little from the waters; I heard by chance of your visit to Lord Halifax; and took a method that I hope will prove effectual, tho' I can by late experience answer for nothing."

George Grenville to Sir James Lowther, Bart.

1763, May 27th, Downing Street.—"I have this moment received the favor of your letter, and as it will always be a real pleasure to me to do any thing agreable to you, I shall be desirous whenever the vacancy happens to comply with your recommendation in behalf of your friend R^t^ Stanhope if I possibly can, but as there are always a multitude of applications from the gentlemen of the county upon this subject, I have laid it down as a rule never to make an absolute promise till the vacancy happens and I am fully apprized of the state of it."

Horace Walpole to the Rev. Henry Zouch, Sandal, near Wakefield.*

1764, February 21st, Arlington Street.—"You will have heard of the severe attendance which we have had for this last week in the House of Commons. It will, I trust, have excused me to you for not having answered sooner your very kind letter. My books, I fear, have no merit over Mr. Harte's Gustavus, but by being much shorter. I read his work, and was sorry so much curious matter should be so ill and so tediously put together. His anecdotes are much more interesting than mine; luckily I was aware that mine were very trifling, and did not dwell upon them. To answer the demand, I am reprinting them with additions, but must wait a little for assistance and corrections to the two latter as I have had for the former.

You are exceedingly obliging, Sir, to offer me one of your Fergusons; I thank you for it as I ought, but in truth I have more pictures than room to place them; both my houses are full, and I have even been thinking of getting rid of some I have. That this is no declension of your civility, Sir, you will see, when I gladly accept either of your medals of King Charles; I shall be proud to keep it as a mark of your friendship; but then I will undoubtedly rob you of but one.

* There are many other letters at Lowther Castle from Walpole to H. Zouch, but, with the exception of the short one which follows on the next page, they are all printed in Cunningham's edition.

I condole with you, Sir, for the loss of your friend and relation, as I heartily take my share in whatever concerns you. The great and unmerited kindnesses I have received from you will ever make me

Your most obliged and obedient humble Servant."

GEORGE GRENVILLE to SIR JAMES LOWTHER, Bart.

1764, April 8th, Downing Street.—"Mr. Jenkinson informs me that you wrote to him about a proper arrangement of R^t How's affairs for the benefit of the public, and of his private creditors. The Commissioners of the Customs were immediately directed to make a report upon it which they have now done, and it shall be taken into consideration to morrow at the Board, and I hope this affair will be ended in some shape or other that may be agreable to you. I will give directions that for the future you shall have as little trouble as is possible with regard to offices upon incidents in the two Counties of Westmorland and Cumberland. I shall be extremely glad upon this and every occasion to show the real regard I have for you and my sense of the friendship and kindness you have allways expressed towards me."

HORACE WALPOLE to the Rev. HENRY ZOUCH.

1767, April 6th, Strawberry hill.—"Your letter has lain here a few days, while I was in London, or I should certainly have obeyed your commands sooner. I will leave word with my housekeeper, as I am not settled here yet, to admit Sir Thomas Wentworth and your friends whenever they shall call to see my house.

I am much obliged to you, Sir, for your kind inquiry after my health. I was extremely ill the two last summers, but have had no complaint since Christmas last. I should have been very glad if you had given me as good an account of your own health, which I most sincerely desire."

The COUNTESS of BUTE to SIR JAMES LOWTHER, Bart.

[1768], Saturday.—"I am sensible you converse with many who will be extremely glad to see you plunge yourself much deeper in opposition, than (by what you said to me) is your present intention; they have views of their own advantage, and very little consider your character or figure in the world. It appears to me in the strongest manner, that you will injure yourself much more by this measure than it is possible for you to hurt any other person, and this I own is what gives me the greatest uneasiness; I am very positive in the opinion that Sir George Macartney's seat would in every light be far more eligible, and much more conformable to my Lord's intention when he ask'd the favour of your bringing Sir George into Parliament. Forgive me my dear Sir James for my earnestness in this matter, but I foresee the consequences too well not to endeavour to avert what will cause great vexation to my Lord, and what I am sure you will repent of when too late."

GEORGE JOHNSTONE, M.P. for Appleby, to [SIR JAMES LOWTHER].

[1775], January 20th.—"If you have not communicated your intentions to Major Gowland I still presume to bring an image to your mind that has disturbed me all night. Genius, generosity, fortitude, and affability, are painted on his mien, loving and beloved by all men of

worth and real virtue. Known and esteemed by the first characters for the extent of his knowledge, with an elocution capable of enforcing his opinions. Talbot raised Thompson. Hertford, David Hume. Rockingham, Burke. But you have a prize in your power superior to all three and your glory and advantage would be in proportion. You have laid me under so many obligations that you cannot add to them. I have therefore only to beg forgiveness if my solicitation has no success and that you will believe if I am again importunate that it is as much from thinking the measure for your interest as for the sake of him I love. The most perfect of human characters without any exception as far as my knowledge of mankind goes, try him on any one quality or all united."

GEORGE JOHNSTONE to SIR JAMES LOWTHER, Bart.

1775, June 7th, London.—"I did not answer your letter expecting you would have been in London immediately, from your conversation the last time we parted. As I now suppose something has detained you, I acknowledge with great pleasure the account of your success. I was indeed very anxious because I considered the circumstance of this election as a loop-hole in your political situation which if not secured might have run things into great confusion. The late news from America makes me wish very much you was on the spot. Government have as yet received no accounts, and pretend there is not the least grounds for believing an open rupture and some assert the whole has been fabricated. I can venture to assure you the essentials are true and the spirits of the Public are much affected by it. Lord Chatham is generally looked up to, though most people agree he could not form an administration without the Rockinghams. He is very ill, but recovering. Much will depend on a good intercourse by intermediate friends and some communication with the Closet. I see nobody better qualified to effect both than yourself, but alas Lowther is 300 miles distant from St. James's; both must be attended to, the interest in the one gives tone to operations in the other, and human powers can hardly undertake both. Leaving Lowther to descend to this hot nasty town is like a flight from Heaven, so that without calculating all your necessary attentions for securing your interest, I should not be surprized if human frailty yielded to such temptation.

If any change takes place on this American storm, it must be quickly, for although the matter is very nice, and people in power will find a thousand expedients before they quit their hold, yet the affair is sufficiently serious to startle the most intrepid and there will be no correcting the evil by a change of system, if much more blood is spilt or at least if it should afterwards be attempted. The blood of the advisers must cement the breach between the two Countries."

The Rev. THOMAS ZOUCH to WILLIAM LOWTHER, of Swillington (afterwards Earl of Lonsdale).

1775, Dec. 28, Wycliffe.—Letter of advice on the occasion of his commencing residence at Trinity College, Cambridge, after leaving Westminster School, and undergoing a course of study with the writer.

The DUKE OF RUTLAND to SIR JAMES LOWTHER.

1779, July 27th, Chevely.—"Lord Chatham's son, Mr. Pitt, a particular of friend of mine, having declared himself a candidate for the

University of Cambridge, I cannot forbear at his desire from requesting your interest in his behalf. The great situation of Sir James Lowther in this county must naturally give him an essential weight with every description and body of men; and I trust that Mr. Pitt's principles founded on those by which his father so long upheld this country will give force to this application. It is upon this ground and the many civilities I have so frequently received from you that I venture to trouble you with this letter.

[P.S.].—I had the satisfaction of seeing Lord Shelburne this morning. He has no fever or any symptom to cause alarm. A few *old Letters* in his waistcoat pocket—impeded the force of the ball. I need not say, that his conduct in *the Business* was highly honourable.

Men in these times must stand prepared for strange events. How necessary *General Union* is become."

The Marquis of Rockingham to the Rev. Henry Zouch.

1780, March 23rd, Thursday evening. Grosvenor Square.—"I am much grieved to be unable to attempt to be present at York at the ensuing County meeting. I have been much hurried and fatigued with variety of business, and though I feel anxious beyond measure, that the decisions at York should be such as would redound to the honour of the County and the good of the nation, I can not undertake to throw my little *mite* in the scale by my personal attendance and by the opportunity it might give one of suggesting my thoughts on the spot.

I can not nevertheless refrain from communicating some of my opinions on the matters, which you and those who are there will have to consider and on which you will have to act.

I am under some uneasiness at not having received any answer from Mr. Milnes. I find by the letter which I had the pleasure to receive from you, that he had got my *long letter*. I trust there was nothing in it, which went so much against his ideas, as that he should rather decline answering it, and leave it to future conversation, than to send me his objections at once—against any part or sentiment which I had conveyed. I indeed hope that Mr. Milnes' not writing has proceeded from his expectation of seeing me soon in Yorkshire.

A variety of incidents have happened in regard to the conduct and in regard to what has passed among the Deputies in London—which at this time it would be both unnecessary and too long to enter into. I shall therefore hasten to the actual state of what has been concluded here among the Deputies, and which is to become the subject matter of consideration for the *County Committees* in the first place—and for *the County Meetings at large* in the second place.

I enclose to you the Printed Paper which contains what is to be laid before you, and I must particularly call your attention to the concluding part—viz.—*Mr. Wyvill's* circular letter which is ordered—by the Meeting of Deputies—to be annexed to the Resolutions.

I must observe to you—that the occasion of this circular Letter being annexed—arose from the *very great doubts* which *many* entertained in regard to *two* of the *four* Resolutions which the Deputies at a Meeting *last week* had agreed to. *Very many indeed* will by no means admit—as *an Article* to which they will bind themselves—*that the Members* of the House of Commons *be annually* elected to serve in Parliament. I verily think—that that Article will not be adopted by any *one of the Counties* whose Deputies were in London, *if the County of York* are not led into that decision. *Perhaps* if the County of York doth, some

Counties may follow, but I will venture to foretell that they will be few in number. I am convinced that nothing but confusion will arise, if this measure is enforced. Surely the impracticability of the measure of Annual Parliaments—must strike the bulk of the thinking part of the subjects of this country. The whole fabrick of the idea is entirely built on vague theories. You will have seen by my letter to Mr. Milnes—that I am, (and I really have been) inclined for some time past —to shorten the duration of Parliament. *Septennial* is too long a Term. *Triennial* was the term of duration fixed at the *Revolution*. I have examined the number of *Petitions* on contested elections presented—on several *New Parliaments*. I see both before and since Mr. Greenvile's Bill, the Number of Petitions on undue elections, have been so great, that they have not been decided in the *first Session*. On the General Election in 1768—prior to Mr. Greenvile's Bill—the number of Petitions were 38, whereof 5 *were left undecided*. Many of those which were decided, were not decided till just in the end of the first Session.

Mr. Greenvile's Bill, rendering the *Trials* more equitable, admits and requires more fair and *strict* examination into the justice of each election, and of course the Trials are more *formal* and take longer time in deciding. It appears on the General Election in 1774, there were 50 Petitions on undue elections at the different towns, counties, &c. *All the* Committees who could set could only decide 34 out of the 50 in the course of the first Session of that Parliament. So that 16 remained over for *another Year*. Most of these 50 were two members each—some few were only *Single Members* who contested. Upon the whole I imagine 80 Members sat during *great part of the Session*, when no body could say they were *certain* to be the *real* and *fairly chosen* representatives.

I hope Mr. Wyvill will not press the *Annual Parliament* as a specific Article on which men are to associate. If it is pressed at York I hope a majority will by no means adopt it. I think it may, and should be stopped in the *Committee* on Saturday next at York.

I shall now proceed to state shortly some doubts I have in regard to the other Article relative to there being sent not less than *One Hundred* new Members of Parliament to be chosen—*in a due proportion*—by the several Counties of Great Britain. I like exceedingly the principle on which this measure stands, but it is a proposition, as *yet crude* and *unascertained* in regard to the *Specific Proportions* for each County, &c.—and I must think it not ripe for an *Article* of Association.

I must observe—that though any alteration in regard to the Boroughs —which are called the Rotten Parts of the Constitution—doth not *now* appear to be *directly* in contemplation, yet it must be understood as a matter *hereafter* to be reformed. I think Yorkshire sends 32 Members, 16 of which may be deemed to come from what are called *Rotten Boroughs. There is a Circumstance*—which though *zealous men* for *Liberty* may be angry with me for mentioning, yet I think a *little attention* to the *Security of Property* is not beneath the consideration of the Gentlemen Freeholders in Yorkshire. I dare say you know very well that the Counties, &c. which are *low rated to the Land Tax* have found some security from their being very *numerously* protected by having a pretty large proportion of Members of Parliament chosen for the Counties or *Boroughs* within the Counties which are low rated to the Land Tax. As *no certain* proportion of the 100 new Members, *or*, indeed any *Line* is stated by which an idea can be formed how they are to be *allotted*, is as yet digested, it rather appears to me in a light as

that we *may be dashing* away and *committing* to some danger the real property of many individuals, who are neither apprized, perhaps have not the *least Idea, of what* they are consenting to.

I am quite in haste to send off this letter to you and also *one* which I have wrote to Mr. Crofts. I would wish them to be communicated to many friends who may attend at the Committee on Saturday and also to many more who may be at the General Meeting on Tuesday next.

I by no means presume to *dictate*, but I do earnestly wish that I may not be included as a *Tacit Assenter* to the propositions on which I have expressed *doubts*. My conduct in political life has ever been regulated by one fixed principle in regard *to Reforms*, I *never* have nor *never will* commit myself as a supporter of propositions which in my conscience according to the best of my judgement are *not evidently* likely to turn out *beneficial* to every object which can secure the freedom and happiness of this Country. I *dare* not assent to *doubtful Propositions*. I hope you and many of the gentlemen of your neighbourhood will attend at the Committee on Saturday. This letter to you as well as the letter which I send to Mr. Crofts—I wish may be communicated to those gentlemen who you and he may think proper. Indeed I care not *how generally* they *are shewn*, for though I hate altercations and don't doubt that able and artful men might even catch at some of my expressions and might pervert the meaning, yet I would venture everything in following the impulse of my mind, and while I retain content in my own mind I shall little value the discontents of others. I trust indeed, that those who I love and honour—though they may differ with me—will do me the justice of thinking, that though we may differ in the modes we do not differ in the object."

The Marquis of Rockingham to the Rev. Henry Zouch.

1780, September 11th, Monday morning, Wentworth.—"Mr. Pemberton Milnes and you disappointed us very much in not coming to Tolston Lodge on Thursday night. I believe the fact was, that you both of you were suspicious, that I should have made rakes of you and kept you up to a late hour. We certainly should have talked a great deal, but that can be done in a short time.

The election business for the City of York afforded an opportunity for *some Gentlemen* to play *some Pranks*. But they *availed* not.

I shall say no more at present upon that subject.

The business of the County election is important, Mr. Henry Duncombe *offering himself* as a candidate, and *the grounds* he *puts* it upon in *his letter to* me, which I received on Thursday night, is well judged. He says he is induced to offer himself as a necessity appears in the situation of the affairs of this County that *two* members for the County should be chose who might *be depended upon* as *opposers* to the present *Ruinous Administration*.

I have long known his way of thinking on the *Measures* which have brought on all the calamities of this country. *Particularly*—the horrid, wicked, and abominable *American War*. His words *include a positive declaration* on that subject, though not in a manner which might make *some gentlemen* who heretofore were abettors of it take offence. Mr. Henry Duncombe *must stand on general ground*—that *all real friends* of their country may support him. Mr. Lascelles has been at Sheffield—and I understand is going about into different parts of the County. He has also published a Hand-Bill—to desire *his friends* to meet on *Saturday next* at York. A good, full meeting *on*

Thursday would have the best effects and might prevent much bustle and confusion.

I am very much hurried, as I have several letters to write."

The Marquis of Rockingham to the Rev. Henry Zouch.

1780, December 23rd, Saturday night, Grosvenor Square :—

"I *thank you* much for the Pamphlet you enclosed to me, and *am sorry* to send you in return, an authentic document, *which too fully proves* that *those* who rule the councils of this unhappy country are decided to continue on, in the same mad pursuits, even though every step they take, increases the difficulties, the distresses, and the calamities, under which this country labours.

I intend to write to you soon by a safe conveyance, I shall say therefore the less in this letter. I have had thoughts of coming in to Yorkshire for some weeks last past, but partly the weather, and partly some business, and partly from not being *well* in *health* and still less so in spirits—I have not been able to undertake the journey.

I intend to go on Monday next to Wimbledon and if I should find myself well after some days rest there, *I possibly* may make an excursion to Wentworth—so as to be there in the first week in January. I much wish to be able. I long to have some conversation with *some good Friends.*

Surely a war with Holland—must be attended with the *utmost ill Consequences* to the export trade of the *Woollen Manufactures* of the *W*[*est*] *R*[*iding*] *of Yorkshire.*"

The Duke of Rutland to Sir James Lowther, Bart., Charles Street.

1780, November 27th, Arlington Street.—"The Duke of Rutland presents his compliments to Sir James Lowther, and if he will give him leave he will introduce Mr. Pitt to him to-morrow morning at any hour which may suit his convenience."

The Duke of Rutland to Sir James Lowther, Bart.

[1780, November] 30th, Arlington Street.—"The Duke of Rutland presents his compliments to Sir James Lowther. He will be very happy to have the honor of seeing him in Arlington Street, and will take care that Mr. Pitt shall meet him."

The Duke of Rutland to [Sir James Lowther, Bart.].

1781, March 2nd, Belvoir Castle.—"I must take the liberty of congratulating you on the success of Mr. Pitt's first appearance in the House of Commons. The satisfaction I have felt in his having fulfilled all the encomiums made of him is very great, and I trust, Sir, yours will not be less in the thoughts of having placed him in that situation where his abilities may operate with utility to his country. I cannot conclude this with (*sic*) assuring you that I shall ever remember the obligations I have received from you with the sincerest gratitude and affection. I hope this letter will find you recovered from the disorder with which you have been attacked."

Sir Michael le Fleming, M.P. for Westmoreland, to Sir James [Lowther, Bart.].

[1781.] Tuesday Morning.—"In case you should not be visible when I call—I have wrote this to tell you we had an exceeding animated debate, and that Mr. Pitt your member was beyond anything I could have had an idea of—indeed the whole House seemed astonished and the greatest part very much pleased—I wish you had been there, as I am sure you would have had great pleasure in attending to him—I hope to God you are free from pain and that you will get out."

William Pitt to [Sir James Lowther, Bart.].

[1783] February 27th, Thursday evening, Downing Street.—"I cannot help being anxious to give you the earliest information, that I have, upon full reflection, thought myself under the necessity of declining the offer made me; and have consequently asked the King's permission to resign my present office. I hope soon for an opportunity to have the honour of explaining to you more at large my motives."

Charles James Fox to Sir James Lowther, Bart.

1783. August 22nd, St. James's Palace.—"Mr. Fox presents his compliments to Sir James Lowther and will be extremely happy to meet him upon any day or at any hour that he will be so obliging as to name. If Mr. Fox has not the pleasure of hearing from Sir James Lowther before Wednesday next, he will take the liberty of calling in Charles Street at twelve o'clock on that day, when he does not doubt but that he shall be able to give him satisfaction upon the several public points alluded to in his letter, and to convince him how desirous he is upon all occasions to obey Sir James's commands to the utmost of his power."

William Pitt to Sir James Lowther, Bart.

[1783.] November 16th, Sunday evening.—"I am very much concerned at your indisposition, and truly sorry to have occasioned your having the trouble of writing; still more so, to add to it now that of a second letter, but I rely on your goodness to pardon it. Mr. Mansfield by being appointed Solicitor General, vacates his seat for the University of Cambridge, and I have reason to believe that there are strong inclinations to oppose his re-election. I am in hopes Lord Euston will stand, but if he should not, it may perhaps be very difficult for me under all the present circumstances not to offer myself, and I should on many accounts be strongly tempted to make the trial, if I may flatter myself that my vacating my seat for Appleby would not be inconvenient to you and that you would allow me again to become indebted to the friendship with which you have honored me. I feel how much I rely upon it, when I take the liberty of mentioning this circumstance to you. I am extremely mortified not to be able to pay my respects to you to morrow morning, but it is essential for me to be at Cambridge without loss of time; and being obliged to be in town again on Tuesday I must set out early."

William Pitt to Sir James Lowther, Bart.

[1784], April 3rd, Saturday night. Pembroke Hall.—"I am this moment returned for the University by a great majority, and Lord Euston is my colleague. I am impatient to communicate this to you, as I need not now avail myself of the assistance to which I have been so much indebted."

William Pitt to Sir James Lowther, Bart.

[1784, March], Sunday morning ½ past 9, Downing Street.—"I have this moment an express from York. Mr. Duncombe and Mr. Wilberforce are to be nominated for the county against Mr. Foljambe and Mr. Weddel. The meeting for the nomination is Friday April 2nd. Our friends expect a majority of two to one, if a sufficient subscription can be raised to carry on the contest. I have a list of names in town who are thought likely to subscribe. If you should be induced to give it the countenance of yours the example will I dare say have effect. You will I am sure forgive my troubling you, as this is a struggle in which the honour of our cause is so much concerned, and which will certainly influence others."

[There are many other letters of Pitt to Sir James Lowther, made Earl of Lonsdale in May 1784, making appointments or of a complimentary character, some undated.]

William Pitt to James Earl of Lonsdale.

[1785,] February 21st, Monday, Downing Street.—"Mr. Pitt presents his compliments to Lord Lonsdale, and thinks himself greatly obliged by the honor of his Lordship's notes. Mr. Pitt is under the necessity of attending a Cabinet Council at Lord Carmarthen's office at one o'clock to-day, and cannot be certain at what hour precisely he shall be released: he will not therefore give Lord Lonsdale the trouble of coming to Downing Street, but will do himself the honor of waiting upon his Lordship the moment he leaves the Council."

William Pitt to [William] Lowther.

1787, February 23rd, Downing Street.—"The place of Register of Wine Licences, which is an easy employment, and worth about 100*l.* per annum is just vacant. If this will suit the person you wish to recommend, be so good as to send me his name, and I shall have great pleasure in immediately appointing him to it."

William Pitt to James Earl of Lonsdale.

1788, December 13th, Saturday. Downing Street.—"Mr. Pitt presents his compliments to Lord Lonsdale. He is extremely sorry to learn that his Lordship is so much indisposed, and is fearful that he could hardly with convenience allow Mr. Pitt the honor of seeing him at present; but being particularly anxious to have as early an opportunity as he can of having some conversation with his Lordship, he will be much obliged to him if he will have the goodness to name any day or hour for Mr. Pitt to wait upon him, when he is enough recovered to make it not improper."

The Prince of Wales to the Earl of Lonsdale.

1788, December 13th, Carlton House.—"As it is possible that the unfortunate circumstance of Your Lordship's indisposition may prevent my having the pleasure of seeing you before Tuesday, I take this method of expressing my earnest hope that Your Lordship's friendship to me will induce you to discountenance any proposition which may be brought forward with a view *to insult and arraign my character and conduct.*

It is in this light I most seriously assure Your Lordship I regard Mr. Pitt's determination to press for a decision *in a claim I have not preferred* and the discussion of which is both painful and injurious to me, and wholly unnecessary if not detrimental to the public good."

The Prince of Wales to James Earl of Lonsdale.

1788, December 14th, Carlton House.—"The Prince of Wales considers Lord Lonsdale's suggestion as an additional proof of his attachment and feels the highest satisfaction in the reflection that he can rely firmly on the friendship of a person of his great consideration in the country.

With respect to the plan proposed it appears to the Prince that in substance, it is full of good sense and propriety, but if Lord Lonsdale had not been confined to his house, he would have been witness this week past to such a spirit of misconstruction in regard to every step the Prince takes that he would see infinite hazard in any direct communication from the Prince to either house of Parliament. In this view it was thought proper that His Royal Highness's sentiments should be conveyed to the House of Lords, by a speech from the Duke of York rather than by message.

If Lord Lonsdale is of opinion that Mr. Pitt would consent to the opening of a communication between His Royal Highness and the House of Commons, The Prince sees no objection, and would be particularly pleased with the motion coming from Sir William Lowther both on account of his consequence in the Country and because it would be an indication of Lord Lonsdale's attachment on which he sets so high a value. If Mr. Pitt disapproves of the measure, the Prince would wish it to be well considered, before it is moved, in order to know how far it would meet the opinion of some persons in the House of Commons who support the Prince on the present occasion. His Royal Highness does not mean Mr. Fox and his friends who he is sure will perfectly approve the substance of Lord Lonsdale's Plan. At any rate His Royal Highness flatters himself that Lord Lonsdale will see the necessity of preventing the discussion, much more the decision, on the abstract point which Mr. Pitt is to bring on to-morrow, as it would throw infinite difficulty on the Plan proposed."

William Pitt to James Earl of Lonsdale.

1788, December 16th, Tuesday, Downing Street.—"Mr. Pitt presents his compliments to Lord Lonsdale, and takes the liberty of troubling him with the enclosed Resolutions which he proposes to move to day in the Committee on the State of the Nation, and shall be peculiarly happy if they coincide with his Lordship's sentiments."

Enclosure in preceding letter.

"1st.—That it appears to this Committee that His Majesty is prevented by his present indisposition from coming to his Parliament, and from attending to Public Business, and that the personal exercise of the Royal Authority by His Majesty is thereby for the present interrupted.

2nd.—That it is the Right and Duty of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons of Great Britain now assembled and lawfully fully and freely representing all the Estates of the People of this Realm to provide the means of supplying the defect of the personal exercise of the Royal Authority arising from his Majesty's said indisposition, in such manner as the exigency of the case may appear to them to require.

3rd.—Resolved that for this purpose, and for maintaining entire the Constitutional Authority of the King, It is necessary that the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons of Great Britain, should determine on the means whereby the Royal Assent may be given in Parliament to such Bill as may be passed by the two Houses of Parliament respecting the exercise of the Powers and Authorities of the Crown in the name and on the behalf of the King during the continuance of His Majesty's present indisposition."

William Pitt to James Earl of Lonsdale.

1788, December 31st, Wednesday, ½ past 4 p.m., Downing Street.—"Mr. Pitt presents his compliments to Lord Lonsdale. He had the honor of calling at his Lordship's door, to day, to enquire after his health, and in hopes that he might be enough recovered to allow him the opportunity of conversing with him. But having the mortification to find that Lord Lonsdale is still so much indisposed, Mr. Pitt takes the liberty of enclosing, for his perusal the Heads of the Plan which he proposes to open to the House of Commons, for supplying the defect of the exercise of the King's Authority. Mr. Pitt regrets much that Lord Lonsdale's health prevents his having the satisfaction of a personal communication with him on so important a subject, but will be extremely happy if the general outlines he has stated coincide with his Lordship's sentiments."

Enclosed in preceding letter.

"That His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales should be empowered to exercise the Royal Authority in the name and on the behalf of His Majesty, during His Majesty's illness and to do all Acts which might legally be done by His Majesty; with Provisions nevertheless that the care of His Majesty's Household, and the appointment and direction of the Officers and Servants of the same, should be in Her Majesty the Queen, under such Regulations as may be thought necessary.

That the Power so to be exercised by His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales should not extend to the granting the real or personal property of the King (except as far as relates to the renewal of leases)—to the granting any Office whatever in reversion—or to the granting for any other term than during His Majesty's pleasure, any Pension, or any Office whatever, except such as must by law be granted for life, or during good behaviour. Nor to the granting any Rank or Dignity of the Peerage of this Realm, to any person except His Majesty's Royal Issue who shall have attained the age of twenty one years."

Captain Payne to James Earl of Lonsdale.

[1789], January 6th, Tuesday.—"Captain Payne presents his compliments to Lord Lonsdale, and was sorry to learn that his Lordship is still confined, when he did himself the honour of waiting on him by the Prince of Wales's direction to deliver to him the enclosed paper, as well as to express his Royal Highness's wish that his Lordship would give every support to his cause, which is this day to be agitated, and which he only feels as directed against him for the purpose of attaching suspicion and jealousy on his character."

(*Enclosure.*)

"The Prince of Wales learns from Mr. Pitt's Letter, that the Proceedings in Parliament are now in a train which enables Mr. Pitt, according to the intimation in his former letter, to communicate to the Prince the outlines of the Plan which His Majesty's confidential servants conceive to be proper to be proposed in the present circumstances.

Concerning the steps already taken by Mr. Pitt the Prince is silent —Nothing done by the two Houses of Parliament can be a proper subject of his animadversion—but when previously to any discussion in Parliament the outline of a scheme of government is sent for his consideration in which it is proposed that he shall be personally and principally concerned and by which the Royal Authority and the Public Welfare may be deeply affected the Prince would be unjustifiable were he to withhold an explicit declaration of his sentiments.—His silence might be construed into a previous approbation of a Plan, the accomplishment of which every motive of duty to his father and Sovereign, as well as of regard to the public interest obliges him to consider as injurious to both.

In the state of deep distress in which the Prince and the whole Royal Family were involved by the heavy calamity which has fallen upon the King and at a moment when Government, deprived of its chief energy and support, seemed peculiarly to need the cordial and united aid of all descriptions of good subjects, it was not expected by the Prince that a Plan should be offered to his consideration by which Government was to be rendered difficult if not impracticable in the hands of any Person intended to represent the King's authority, much less in the hands of his eldest Son, the Heir-Apparent of his Kingdoms, and the Person most bound to the maintenance of His Majesty's just Prerogatives, and Authority as well as most interested in the happiness, the prosperity, and the glory of his People.

The Prince forbears to reason on the several Parts of the Sketch of the Plan laid before him—he apprehends it must have been formed with sufficient deliberation to preclude the probability of any argument from him producing an alteration of sentiment in the projectors of it ; but he trusts with confidence to the wisdom and justice of Parliament when the whole of the subject and the circumstances connected with it shall come under their deliberation.

He observes therefore only generally on the heads communicated by Mr. Pitt, and it is with deep regret the Prince makes the observation, that he sees in the contents of that Paper, a project for producing weakness, disorder and insecurity, in every branch of the Administration of Affairs—A Project for dividing the Royal Family from each other —for separating the Court from the State, and disjoining Government from its natural and accustomed support. A Scheme for disconnecting

the Authority to command Service, from the Power of animating it by reward, and for allotting to the Prince all the invidious duties of Government, without the means of softening them to the People by any one act of grace, favour, and benignity.

The Prince's feelings on contemplating this Plan, are also rendered still more painful to him, by observing that it is not founded on any general principle, but is calculated to infuse jealousies, and distrust, wholly groundless he trusts, in that quarter, whose confidence it will ever be the first pride and object of his life to receive and to merit.

With regard to the motive and object of the limitations and restrictions proposed, the Prince can have but little to observe—no light or information whatever is afforded to him by His Majesty's Ministers on these points—they have informed him what the powers are which they mean to refuse to him, not why they are to be withheld.

The Prince however—holding as he does that it is an undoubted and fundamental Principle of this Constitution that all the Powers and Prerogatives of the Crown are vested there a trust for the benefit of the People, and that they are sacred only as they are necessary to the preservation of that poise and balance of the Constitution which experience has proved to be the true security of the liberty of the subject—must be allowed to observe, that the plea of public utility ought to be strong, manifest and urgent which calls for the extinction, or suspension of any one of these essential rights in the supreme Power or its Representative, or which can justify the Prince in consenting that in his Person an experiment shall be made to ascertain with how small a portion of the Kingly Power the executive Government of this Country may be carried on.

The Prince has only to add, that if security for His Majesty's repossessing his rightful Government, whenever it shall please Providence in bounty to the Country to remove the calamity with which he is afflicted, be any part of the object of this plan, the Prince has only to be convinced that any measure is necessary or even conducive to that end, to be the first to approve and urge it as the preliminary and paramount consideration of any settlement in which he would consent to share.

If attention to what is presumed might be His Majesty's feelings and wishes on the happy day of his recovery be the object, it is with the truest sincerity the Prince expresses his firm conviction that no event could be more repugnant to the feelings of His Royal Father than the knowledge that the Government of his son, and representative had exhibited the Sovereign Power of the Realm in a state of degradation, of curtailed authority, and diminished energy—a state hurtful in practice to the prosperity and good Government of his People, and injurious in its precedent to the security of the Monarchy and the rights of his Family.

Upon that part of the plan which regards the King's real and personal property, the Prince feels himself compelled to remark that it was not necessary for Mr. Pitt, nor proper, to suggest to the Prince, the restraint he proposes against the Prince's granting away the King's real or personal property—The Prince does not conceive that during the King's life he is by law entitled to make any such grant; and he is sure that he has never shewn the smallest inclination to possess any such power—but it remains with Mr. Pitt to consider the eventual interests of the Royal Family and to provide a proper and natural security against the mismanagement of them by others.

The Prince has discharged an indispensible duty in thus giving his free opinion on the plan submitted to his consideration.—His conviction of the evils which may arise to the King's interests, to the peace and happiness of the Royal Family, and to the safety and welfare of the Nation, from the Government of the Country remaining longer in its present maimed and debilitated state, outweighs in the Prince's mind every other consideration, and will determine him to undertake the painful trust imposed upon him by the present melancholy necessity (which of all the King's subjects he deplores the most) in full confidence that the affection and loyalty to the King, the experienced attachment to the House of Brunswick, and the generosity which has always distinguished this Nation, will carry him through the many difficulties inseparable from this most critical situation with comfort to himself with honor to the King, and with advantage to the Public."

The Prince of Wales to James, Earl of Lonsdale.

[1790, June?], Carlton House, six o'clock.—"I am this instant arrived in London having left it for a few hours since I met Hamilton this morning and just as I returned into Pall Mall I met Morris who informed me, that the information you had heard as well as that I had heard relative to Braddyll was equally true in both cases, as Braddyll stands upon the Duke of Norfolk's interest both for Horsham as well as Carlisle, I therefore thought it a duty incumbent upon me instantly to acquaint you by this note of the intelligence I had gained, as otherwise I might appear though innocently to have misled you which I never could in any case have intended to have done."

Wm. Pitt to Sir William Lowther, Bart.

1791, January 13th, Burton Pynsent.—"I was so much engaged till I left London, as to make it absolutely impossible for me to write to you. I have less pleasure in doing it now, as the renewal of a very urgent application from Duncombe will, I fear, not allow me to comply with your wishes respecting Catterick. I am not without hopes however that if any other living of equal value, and in the gift of the Crown should become vacant in that part of the world, I might be able to manage an exchange and open Catterick for Mr. Zouch, which I should have great pleasure in doing. I return to town on the 17th, and shall not be farther than Hollwood between that time and the meeting of Parliament. I shall be happy to see you at any time that suits you best, and you will be sure of finding me at Hollwood if I am not in town. I will then return you the curious letter you were so good to send me, which I beg your pardon for having kept so long."

Robert Thoroton to Sir William Lowther, Bart., Cottesmore, Stamford.

1796, February 19th, Dublin.—"Politics may be said to go on smoothly here, so far as relates to the ordinary proceeding of Government little can be done by Opposition, deserted, dwindled, and dispersed as they are, and the independent part of Parliament being determined from the late alarming outrages, to give the most effectual support to Administration. There is a spirit of sanguinary ferocity, and implacable discontent, among the lower order of the People, that threatens the most

formidable consequences, under the style of defenderism. This cause was first set on foot by the Catholics, and has since been encouraged by assurances of assistance from France, which has carried the feelings of the lower order of the People (naturally desperate from their poverty) to an extent of violence, that nothing but the bayonet can keep down. The most cruel murders and atrocious outrages are daily committed, and as you will read in the papers, last week, a party came from the country, and murdered two men, who were placed for protection in a lodge, in the park of Lord Carhampton, within four miles of Dublin, in order to give their testimony upon a trial, which was to have been brought on in a few days. There was something peculiarly barbarous in their manner of treating these unfortunate men, one of whom had concealed himself; upon their finding him, they formed a circle, and danced round him; and then discharged five shots, and mangled him in a dreadful manner. The consequence of these outrages is, that the country in the parts where they prevail is entirely deserted by those who can remove, either into the country towns or to the metropolis, and even in the quiet parts of the kingdom, the gentlemen apprized of the disposition of the People, are not very anxious to reside at their country seats. Were it not for these internal disturbances Ireland would actually have profited by the war. Her trade, manufactures, and revenue, having been encreased, and no deficiency having arisen from want of grain or dearness of provision, nor any taxes imposed that affect the lower order of the People. Lord Camden therefore, with these disturbances quelled, and an opposition consisting but of 16, with no measures of difficulty to bring forward, is not likely to encounter any embarrassment this Session; the next Session (I think) will require most strenuous exertion to keep *The Cart upon its wheels.*" . . .

Lord Bellenden to the Earl of Lonsdale.

1794, April 21st.—"Although I have not the honour to be known to your Lordship, I had the pleasure to be known to Sir William Lowther and his two sons, who I boarded with many years ago in Dean's Yard, Westminster, I am sorry to inform your Lordship that I am one of those exigent mortals, who having but a slender income of two or three hundred a year to live upon, am often liable to be thrown into embarrassment, and as it has been the decree of fate that I should be so singularly distinguished by the caprice of fortune, and the innumerable difficulties and disappointments she has thrown before me, I have no other resource at present than to make application to those characters who I hope will deign to compassionate a nobleman in distress. If your Lordship could find it convenient to render me the smallest assistance per bearer, I will take the earliest opportunity of waiting upon you for which to return the obligation conferred upon me, and do assure your Lordship that nothing could have induced me to make application to you but the greatest distress, and most pinching necessity."

William Pitt to [Sir William Lowther, Bart.]

1796, September 24th, Downing Street.—"At a moment so important as the present, you would oblige me very particularly if you would undertake seconding the Address at the opening of the Session. It is to be moved by Lord Morpeth. The task is becoming fortunately every day less disagreeable than it promised to be, by the good news

from the Continent, but the Crisis is still one which calls for all the zeal and exertions of the country. We shall have to announce every step taken on our part towards Peace that any reasonable man I believe will desire. Whether our overtures are accepted or rejected, the chance of obtaining good terms, or the means of prosecuting the War will equally require vigorous and effectual support from Parliament and the country. You will I am persuaded not be adverse to shew your concurrence in these sentiments; and on this ground as well as from your kindness and friendship at all times, I flatter myself you may be induced to comply with my wishes. The King's Speech will be deferred till after the members are sworn, and therefore will not take place till Tuesday sen'night, but the choice of the Speaker will be Tuesday next. I shall be happy to see you at any time in the interval that suits you."

Sir William Lowther to [James, Earl of Lonsdale].

1798, October 26th, Apethorpe.—"I am very much ashamed of Major Zouch's behaviour, and extremely sorry that I yielded so far to his very pressing importunities, as to recommend him to Your Lordship's protection. He has frequently shown some peculiarities in his conduct, but I never supposed he would have acted with so much impropriety as he has done on this occasion.

I am very sorry to hear of your Lordship's indisposition. I hope you will not venture on so long a journey at this season of the year, till your health is reestablished. Lord Westmorland understands that the meeting of Parliament is to be postponed to the 20th or thereabouts, and is much surprized that he has not received any notification of it, as it was not Mr. Pitt's intention that it should meet before that time—at all events I shall be in London at the meeting of Parliament, but if that does not take place till the 20th I shall be ready to wait on your Lordship at the time you mention, if you will have the goodness to direct some one to communicate your wishes to me.

Lord Clare is expected here tomorrow. An Union betwixt this Country and Ireland, I have some reason to think, is in agitation."

William Pitt to James Earl of Lonsdale.

1798, September 4th, Hollwood.—"I was honored yesterday with your Lordship's letter, and shall be happy to lay before His Majesty so valuable a proof of your zeal for the public service. The arrangements, however, which are already made for sending to Ireland reinforcements to the full extent authorized by Parliament, will necessarily preclude the acceptance of this liberal and spirited offer."

("A copy from a copy.")

William Pitt to I. Hawkins Browne, Esq.

1799, February 7th, Downing Street.—Private. "I felt greatly obliged to you for communicating to me the idea which you entertain of proposing to accompany the measure of the Union by a reduction of the number of members for English boroughs, equal to the additional number from Ireland. The reasons you allege are those most likely to represent the proposal in a favourable light; but the first of them, in the extent in which you state it, I confess does not seem to me justified by experience, and I must fairly confess that every-

thing which has passed for the last ten years convinces me more and more, of the little advantage, and the infinite danger, which must attend the agitation in any mode of the principle of Parliamentary Reform. This is in my mind an insuperable objection, and you will I am sure excuse my taking the liberty of stating it to you, as I do without reserve."

Endorsed: "The original of this letter in Mr. Pitt's writing was put into Lord Farnborough's hands by the Rev. Dr. Wordsworth, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, who allowed Lord Farnborough to take a copy of it."

Sir John Beckett to ——.

1800. November 17th, Leeds: . . . . . "The most striking circumstance which arises out of the subject on which you have honoured me with your correspondence is the present state of men's minds, not one in an hundred admitting there is any real scarcity but contending and preaching loudly there is plenty of corn, but that it is unfairly withheld from the poor for the purpose of keeping up the price—that the poor have now patiently borne their distress long enough and if they shall have recourse to violent measures who can blame them—or who would interfere—this and such like is the language which I find held by the best informed part of society; and what is likely to be the consequence considering the actual distress of the poor, God only knows, but looking forwards to the winter I tremble when I think of it—The crop of the present year in this part of Yorkshire has been in general pretty good and therefore it cannot or will not be admitted it has been bad any where, yet in that part of Lincolnshire where I resided the crops of 1799 and 1800 added together fell far short of the single year 1798 and in several other parts of the country I am credibly informed it has been the same, indeed considering the seed time for wheat in 1799 it could hardly be otherwise, for it lasted from October to the end of February and went into the ground very badly the whole time. I believe the Duke of Portland to be very near the truth in his statement and if the present crop be only $\frac{3}{4}$ or perhaps $\frac{3}{5}$ of an average crop, considering too that it is a second bad year, I think it sufficiently accounts for the present high price without recurring to monopolizing, or hoarding, or any such silly stuff. On this point I admire the good sense of a Representation of the Privy Council dated the 8 March 1790, from which I will give you an extract as you may not perhaps have the Pamphlet—"In other countries magazines of corn are formed by their respective Governments as a resource in times of scarcity—this country has no such institution—The stores of corn are here deposited in the barns and stacks of wealthy farmers and in the magazines of merchants and dealers in corn who ought to be by no means restricted but rather encouraged in laying up stores of this nature, as after a deficient crop they are thereby enabled to divide the inconvenience arising from it as equally as possible through every part of the year and by checking improvident consumption in the beginning of scarcity prevent a famine which might otherwise happen before the next harvest. The inland trade of corn therefore ought to be perfectly free—this freedom can never be abused—*To suppose that there can be a monopoly of so bulky and perishable a commodity dispersed through so many hands over every part of the country is an idle and vain apprehension*"—what good sense, I say, is this compared with the popular tales of the present moment!

I forget whether I mentioned to you in my last a striking fact in the price of wheat which is that before the year '99 it scarcely advanced at all for a great number of years back, while every thing else, land, labour and particularly the produce of grass land, vizt. meat, butter, cheese and milk have more than doubled. Wheat in short has in effect within the period to which I allude sunk in price one half for money having depreciated in value one half, which it certainly has and perhaps [more ?] within the last 40 years, and wheat selling for the same or nearly the same nominal sum it is clearly of only one half its former value while almost every other article preserves its relative value. No longer ago than the year 1774 when I begun housekeeping I paid for my butchers meat 3½*d.* a lb. the year round, for butter about 7*d.* or 8*d.*, for cheese 5*d.*, for milk 6*d.* a gallon, for wheat about 6*s.* a bushel. Wheat till the year '99 was not higher than 6*s.* a bushell on an average of almost any number of years, yet for every other article I have mentioned the price is double. From this circumstance I have been led to suspect that the price of wheat has been improperly depressed by the corn laws and in addition to bad years may have had some effect in increasing the present scarcity, for as the produce of grass land has been continually increasing in value 'till now it is more than double what it was even within the last 40 years, and wheat remains stationary, it seems cause enough to suspect a general tendency to convert arable land to grass and so lessen the quantity of the former in comparison with the latter. The object of the last general Law for regulating the price of wheat seems to have been to keep it at 6*s.* a bushell, a price that it had borne for many years before, which was ridiculous enough considering that 6*s.* of that day was worth no more than 3*s.* of 40 years before, nor would buy more of the produce of grass land than 3*s.* of the 40 years before, and may probably therefore have had the effect I suspect. If it was now in the power of the Legislature to govern circumstances and absolutely to fix the price of wheat, it would be a question sooner asked than ably answered what sum would be advisable to fix it at, should it not however be such as to make it as well worth the farmers' while to grow corn as grass, otherways land will run to grass too much—then at what period did the produce of the two sorts of lands bear the best proportion to each other? Probably I should think when we grew as much Corn as served ourselves and a little at least to spare for exportation, that was when the price of wheat was from 5*s.* to 6*s.* a bushell and the produce of grass land at half its present price—to give wheat then its natural price as compared with the produce of grass land now (I mean before '99) it ought not to have been less than 10*s.* a bushell and though that price seems extravagantly high in common times I really see no reason or good policy in making laws endeavouring to keep it at a lower price.

The comparative advantages of labour bestowed upon land or manufactures I hope I shall some day have the pleasure of discussing with you personally, and I hope of convincing you if you can have any doubts on the subject, that no policy is so wise, no patriotism so true (particularly in men who hold the lofty situation in which you are placed in the country, allow me to say I think very deservedly), as to turn their thoughts and exertions to improvements in agriculture." . . . .

The Rev. Thomas Zouch to Sir William Lowther.

1801, February 16th, Sandal.—. . . "A Petition to the King for Peace has been subscribed by many of the Wakefield manufacturers,

consisting principally of Presbyterians, and men of republican principles, while a Protest against their proceedings has appeared in some of the provincial papers from the merchants, clergy, and others. In the meantime the distresses of the poor are daily increasing; all trade is nearly at an end; and provisions of every kind rapidly advance in price. The Aire and Calder Navigation flourishes exceedingly. This is attributed to the vast quantities of corn brought up the river, Wakefield being the greatest corn market in the north of England."

The Rev. Thomas Zouch to Sir William Lowther.

1801, September 29th, Sandal.—Encloses a letter of Dr. Parr, in which his "late accomplished brother," Henry Zouch, is praised in the highest terms; and refers to the Doctor's recent Spital Sermon, in which he defended the system of modern education against a French writer "who reprobates every plan of early instruction as productive only of prejudice and error."

The Rev. Thomas Zouch to Sir William Lowther.

1802, April 26th, Scrayingham . . . "On reading two letters of Sir Henry Sidney to his son it struck me that the reprinting of them at this time might be an useful undertaking. I have gradually collected some materials for the Life of Sir Philip, whose character the more I consider it, the more I admire. Some notes also, illustrating the letters, have suggested themselves, particularly from comparing them with the lessons of admonition given by Sir Matthew Hales to his children. These letters are included in the Papers of the Sidney family published by Collins. There is also a copy of them annexed to Archbishop Usher's Letters edited by Dr. [Richard] Parr in 1692 (*sic*), but that copy is mutilated, and imperfect in many places . . .

It is said that Dr. Milner exerted every effort to change his Deanery of Carlisle for that of York; and that all the evangelical Preachers, as they insolently style themselves, were much disappointed on this occasion.

Mr. Maltby, chaplain to the Bishop of Lincoln, has published his long expected work. To eke out the volume he has added a Latin Thesis, and a Latin sermon. He refutes the arguments brought against Christianity by Mr. Chubb and Lord Bolingbroke, men whose writings sleep on the shelf undisturbed, and whose objections have been repeatedly answered."

William Pitt to William Viscount Lowther.

1802, June 7th, Thursday, Park Place.—"I am very sorry that I missed you when you were so good as to call to-day, and that I cannot have the pleasure of meeting you at Euston's at dinner. I wished much to have the opportunity of thanking you for the note you sent me with the account of Lord Lonsdale's death; as well as to assure you, (what I hope you cannot doubt) how much I partook in the pleasure which I believe was very generally felt when the destination of his property was known."

William Pitt to Viscount Lowther.

1802, June 25th, Walmer Castle.—"I am very sorry that circumstances have prevented me from telling you with certainty for whom I

wished to avail myself of your kind offer. One day's additional delay will not I hope produce material inconvenience, as I shall be in town on Sunday, and shall by that time have received the answer I am now expecting."

William Pitt to Viscount Lowther.

1802, June 28th, Pembroke Hall.—Tuesday. "The answer which I expected unfortunately did not reach me before I left town yesterday, but I have received it by to-day's post. The person whom I was anxious to recommend to you, is most desirous of accepting the seat. His name is Ward. He is a near relation of Lord Mulgrave's, and is at the Bar, and of such promising talents, that I hardly think he can fail to distinguish himself. Notwithstanding this impression, I should not, however, wish to avail myself of your kindness in his favour, after knowing that our friend [Meeke ?] has been in your thoughts, if I had not some time since undertaken, that if anything happened to put it in my power, I would endeavour to procure him a seat. I hope this long delay has not been materially inconvenient to you."

[P.S.] "My friend's address is Robert Ward, Esq., No. 48 Lincoln's Inn Fields."

The Rev. Thomas Zouch to Viscount Lowther.

1802, July 3rd. Sandal.—Respecting the progress he is making in the Collection of materials for a history of the Lowther family. [Many other letters from Dr. Zouch about this date refer to the same subject.] Solicits his lordship's interest to procure for him some ecclesiastical dignity—"though I am not unconscious of my own merit, I entirely acquiesce in what you think best."

William Pitt to Viscount Lowther.

1803, March 22nd, Walmer Castle.—"I am quite ashamed of not having sooner answered your letter, and told you how glad I am to be able to furnish Colonel Lowther's son with the recommendation you wish. Lest my delay should prevent my letter being in time for him to carry with him, I have begged Colonel Lowther in that case to send it to Mr. W. Dundas who will I know forward it by the first opportunity. The slight attack which I felt of gout has left me much the better for it, and the sea breezes have hitherto exempted this place from the complaints which have infected London. I am not without some thoughts of making a visit to Bath during Easter, and hope to have the pleasure of meeting you in town soon afterwards, as I imagine you will probably be there in the course of the spring."

William Pitt to Viscount Lowther.

1804, April 12th, Thursday. Walmer Castle.—"I trouble you with two lines only to say that I shall be in town on Monday next, chiefly for the purpose of attending Yorke's Bill for suspending the Army of reserve, the second reading of which I find is to be fixed for Tuesday; and also to take my chance of being in time to object to the third reading of the Bill for augmenting the Irish Militia, if it should be deferred till Monday. I think it material to object to both as parts of the only system which Government has brought forward, and which in all its parts I consider as most inefficient and objectionable. We shall hardly

be able to have a full muster of our force till the end of the week, but I have desired Long to endeavour to obtain as good an attendance as he can on Monday and Tuesday, and shall be much obliged to you if you will give a hint to any of your friends to whom you think it necessary."

William Pitt to Viscount Lowther.

1804, May 3rd, Thursday. York Place.—"I shall be happy to dine with you on Monday, and also on Wednesday, supposing as is most probable that both days remain free from business in either House. Something will probably pass at the House of Lords to day respecting a further delay of Lord Stafford's motion, and you will probably be there, in which case I will meet you; and I will try in the mean time to put down some names as you desire for Wednesday."

William Pitt to Viscount Lowther.

1804, November 14th. Downing Street.—"In spite of *bad habits* I have just time to thank you for your letter to me and that to Bourne, which arrived this morning. Lord Villiers is I am persuaded perfectly well disposed, and would be a very creditable accession to our list of friends; but as in addition to votes (of which we have certainly not too many) it is very desirable to reinforce our line of debaters, the person for whom I should most wish to procure a seat is Gibbs (the Chief Justice of Chester); and as I find from Rose, that on account of a candidate on a new interest having already started, the Duchess of Bolton is anxious to settle her recommendation as soon as possible, I have ventured to desire him to propose Gibbs immediately to her, in order to avoid the delay which must arise if she waited to hear from you again upon the subject. I was very sorry that the renewal of an application from Lord Coventry (on which he had received great encouragement twelve or fourteen years ago) made it impossible for me to take care of Mr. Zouch, on the last vacancy at Worcester. But either there or elsewhere you may be assured that he shall be thought of at the earliest possible opportunity."

William Pitt to [Viscount Lowther].

1804, November 23rd. Downing Street.—"Since I wrote last I have been enabled to make some arrangement respecting ecclesiastical preferment; and am happy to find it in my power to assure you, that I shall recommend Mr. Zouch for the next vacancy which may take place at Worcester, or the next but one in any other Stall. Every thing is satisfactorily arranged with respect to Mr. Gibbs's election, and there seems nothing to apprehend from the Opposition. If I can find any mode of making a provision for poor Penn, I shall be very glad if you will allow me to make use of your kind offer, in order to introduce some other useful recruit. We are expecting every day to receive the account of our being decidedly at war with Spain; an event which as things now stand will rather improve than embarrass our situation."

The Rev. Thomas Zouch to Viscount Lowther.

1805, January 7th. Sandal.—I have read the MS. poem [Wordsworth's?] with attention. It is certainly an extraordinary performance

and discovers a singular originality of poetic genius, an exuberance of invention and sentiment, and great powers of description. The scenery which he exhibits on Skiddaw and its adjacent mountain Saddle-back or Blencathara is truly grand. I have marked with a pencil in the margin the passages which appeared to me incorrect, and drawn a line under the expressions and words which seemed exceptionable. The terms *green* and *bowers* are used too often, and there are some rhymes which occur too frequently and which I have noticed.

William Pitt to Viscount Lowther.

1805, February 20th, Wednesday, Downing Street.—"It gives me great pleasure to find that the arrangements in the Church will give me an immediate opportunity of acquitting myself of my engagement to you in favor of Dr. Zouch. The particular preferment which I have in view to offer him is the Precentorship of Lincoln; but I am not yet certain whether it will be that or some other Stall, as it depends on the decision of Dr. Pretyman (brother to the Bishop) to whom I have offered the Prebend of Durham, and whose acceptance would vacate both the Precentorship and a Prebend of Norwich. Should Dr. Pretyman decline, I shall have no difficulty in making some other arrangement which will open a situation of the description you wished for Dr. Zouch. Whatever it may be, I wish it to be considered only as a step towards the Bishoprick of Carlisle which I shall reserve for your recommendation, whenever an opportunity arises of promoting the present Bishop. I should add that the Precentorship of Lincoln is worth, as I understand, between seven and eight hundred pounds per annum."

William Pitt to Viscount Lowther.

1805, March 2nd, Downing Street.—"After so many years of uninterrupted friendship, during which I have received from you the strongest proofs of personal kindness, and of zealous and honorable support, it is certainly a severe mortification to me to find that what has lately passed has given you so much dissatisfaction. I regret extremely that I had not the opportunity of seeing you while you were in town, and of explaining to you fully all the grounds on which I have acted; because I cannot help still flattering myself that on a knowledge and consideration of all the circumstances your judgment would be different. At all events it will be a great satisfaction to me, if whenever you return you will allow me to converse fully with you on the whole subject. In the mean time the knowledge of your present sentiments, cannot make the smallest change in the desire I feel both to acquit myself of an engagement, and to mark the sense I shall always retain of your cordial and effectual support, without the smallest view in doing so, to what may be your future conduct. I shall therefore lose no time in endeavouring to compleat the arrangement, which may enable me to place Dr. Zouch in such a situation as will answer your views for him. Unluckily a few days may still elapse before I can name the precise preferment, as I find that it would not be convenient to Dr. Pretyman to vacate the preferments he now holds in exchange for the Prebend of Durham."

William Pitt to Viscount Lowther.

1805, August 21st, Downing Street.—"Dr. Monkhouse called here to-day to deliver your letter, and brought at the same time the account

of the living of Wakefield being actually vacant. The knowledge I before had of your wishes had determined me to recommend him as the successor, and I have accordingly given directions for his appointment."

"Correspondence relating to Mr. Pitt's death."

The Earl of Essex to Viscount Lowther.

1806, January 14th, Wycombe Abbey. (*Private.*)—"Friendship of long standing as Dr. Johnson said (most wisely) ought to be kept in repair and therefore I feel that in any event wherein I am at all interested it is my duty as well as inclination to communicate most confidentially with those for whom I profess the real and true regard that I do for yourself. After so long a preface something of greater consequence ought to follow than the simple event of my moving the address on Tuesday next in the House of Lords. Two nights ago I received a letter from Lord Camden at Lord Hawkesbury's request, desiring that I would undertake a task which I feel unequal to, but at the same time I think I ought not to refuse. To say no more on this subject on my own part I will now tell you what I hear of Pitt. He came to Putney as you probably know on Saturday. I hear that he is very weak, and you will perhaps better judge of his real situation when I tell you that all idea of his attending Parliament at first is at an end. The letter I got from Lord Hawkesbury last night has in these words—'I am sure you will be gratified by hearing that Dr. Reynolds and Dr. Baily who have been called in to attend Mr. Pitt are of opinion with Sir W. Farquhar that there are no serious or unpleasant symptoms in his complaint, that it is principally weakness owing to the very severe attack of the gout which he has experienced and that by attention and quiet he will in a short time recover his strength, his attendance in Parliament for a fortnight after the meeting will be however impossible'—on this account of our friend you will make your own comments on this statement. The place from which this is dated will certainly furnish me with the last accounts, and Lord Mahon who is in London writes to his wife that he met Farquhar going to Putney yesterday, that he states Mr. Pitt as having had two attacks of the gout since he came home, and that he shook his head as if he did not like what was going on. Perhaps he may make more of this from other medical advice being called in; here you have all we know on this important subject. My private opinion is that nothing can be worse, a general debility with gout constantly flying about, and his pulse I know to have been as high as 130, only upon the common and ordinary exertion of dressing himself, are symptoms too alarming not to make us anticipate the worst. I cannot have an idea that with the present state of his weak frame and living solely as I hear he does upon milk, that it can last long, frequent attacks of gout must shew there is no strength to throw it out, and at last end in the falling upon some vital part. I have now told you all I know and I trust you will consider that the part I am about to take proceeds from those just feelings that I ought to possess towards our friend. We are of the same opinion as to many circumstances respecting his conduct of late years, but if he is in the utmost need he must not be deserted even by those who have as little support as myself to give him. I have a thousand other things to say but they are too much to put into a sheet of paper, the times are become now so extraordinary and interesting and so much more so from the probability of Pitt's health being upon the decline that of course great

and important changes must be looked for even if no other circumstances produce them that I take it for granted you will come up. I go from hence to-morrow and shall be in town Tuesday and have a little chicken establishment in town for the next week, therefore if you do come up pray recollect that you will find a manger in John Street when you are reduced to a mutton chop. Excuse this *pen, ink, paper*, and *writing*, the *first, second* and *third*, are Lord Carrington's, the *last* your &c.

Of course say nothing of Tuesday till you have it in the newspapers the Duke of Rutland had accepted . . . . refused; why this just now. What say y[ou] . . . . . ."

The Earl of Essex to Viscount Lowther.

(*Private.*)

1806, January 16th, John Street.—"I am this moment come to town and will tell you all I hear on that subject which most interests us at this moment as any public event, for such is the health of Mr. Pitt. Farquhar slept at Putney last night, and does so again to-night. A friend of mine met him this morning and he shook his head saying that Mr. Pitt might get over it. This is a sort of language that I know Farquhar often holds *pour se faire valoir*, and I should have attributed it to that motive had I not met Lord Chatham a few minutes afterwards who I think gave me a very bad account indeed by saying that Mr. Pitt was seized in the night with a violent sickness (a bad symptom in his state) and that the Bishop of Lincoln who was with him had just written Lord Chatham word that he thought Mr. Pitt had rather lost ground than gained it since Monday last. The King I hear is very low, and I do not see much comfort for us in the political world unless some more favourable events arise. You shall hear from me to-morrow if anything arises."

"P.S.—I have this moment a line from Lord Henry, who says the Physicians do not perceive any alarming symptoms, but that his recovery was not as rapid as they expected."

The Earl of Essex to Viscount Lowther.

[Undated.] (*Private.*)—"I fear I cannot send you a better account to day though they say there is a shade of difference for the better, a letter Lord Henry read us from the Bishop of Lincoln this morning written at 7 o'clock last night mentions the extreme debility of Mr. Pitt and that it would be necessary to lift him from his bed for a moment to his couch that the former might be made, thus you see his state of weakness is terrible, the account this evening is that he had taken an egg yesterday which he had kept upon his stomach and had had a tolerable night and that he asked for some food this morning which they thought proceeded from a wish to keep himself up more than from any natural inclinations to eat, but he said it was really from an inclination to take sustenance and he was to try some chicken broth. The Physicians, and Baillie in particular, still say that no symptoms of real alarm shew themselves, so that although we may hope that his life may yet be preserved, his political life is at an end for the present. What the result will be God knows, a few days must determine. If you do not come up you shall hear from me constantly whilst I am in town. The Duchess's friends are again talking of him as sure of returning to power. The King's eyes worse I believe.

Burn this.

I have yours of the 15th. I find Lord Carrington is to second the Address."

The Earl of Essex to Viscount Lowther.

1806, January 18th, London. (*Private.*)—"Pitt is certainly better to-day, he took chicken broth three times yesterday and had very little return of his sickness, but I hear Baillie has pronounced that he cannot attend even to any common business for these next 10 or 12 weeks. There is much cabal going on. I have no more to say now on the subject but will write more fully if possible to-morrow and tell you all that I know, so that on Tuesday you shall be *au fait*. I am just come from the Birthday, it was thin, and the Prince of Wales there in high spirits."

The Earl of Essex to Viscount Lowther.

1806, Sunday evening, January 20th. (*Private.*)—"I fear you must expect to hear the worst to-morrow if I write. The accounts to-day are sad from Putney, and Pitt is in the utmost danger, probably to-night will decide everything. God grant that a change may take place. The account from the physicians is that the symptoms are unpleasant and his situation dangerous. A letter from Charles Stanhope says the consultation is over, and Mr. Pitt is in great danger. The Bishop of Lincoln's letter says to Pitt's private secretary—Mr. Pitt is worse than yesterday and the symptoms most alarming—I fear we must expect the worst. Pray if this melancholy event should happen come up directly. There are sorts of cabals going on, and such men as yourself should be here and become *landmarks* to those who like myself wish to do the best. I will write to-morrow of course.

Baillie said this morning he was in the greatest danger, and this very publicly, his pulse was 130, and in moving him last night in a blanket from his bed to the couch he fainted away, his voice I understand is too feeble to be heard; what can be worse and how hurried it is ?"

The Earl of Essex to Viscount Lowther.

1806, January 22nd, London.—"It is for me amongst many others I have no doubt to undertake the painful task of telling you that Mr. Pitt died about 2 o'clock to-day. I am too oppressed with grief to say more, what will be done I know not; you shall hear from me to-morrow if I know anything, pray come up, if you do so on Friday or Saturday you will find me at Cashiobury. I shall return here Sunday."

Lord Mulgrave to Viscount Lowther.

1806, January 23rd.—"During the anxious suspense of our excellent friend's illness I knew not how to write to you lest I should create fears or hopes that might mislead you. At half-past four this morning the world was deprived of its greatest ornament and the country of its best protector. I know you will feel this most unhappy event as I do, in the general affliction; I have the aggravated sorrow of paternal feelings, my affection for him was that of a brother."

John Stonard to Viscount Lowther.

1806, January 23rd, Chertsey.—"I write immediately and shall send the letter to town by the coach, which will save a day, because I plainly

perceive that you are not aware of the very alarming nature of Mr. Pitt's illness. By what I gathered from Stanhope when I was in town a fortnight since, I was convinced that we might wish rather than hope for Mr. Pitt's restoration. This morning has confirmed my worst apprehensions. I have received a letter from poor Stanhope evidently written in the greatest distress and agony of mind. He tells me emphatically 'All is not yet over and that is all I can say, I fear there are no hopes remaining.' Your Lordship therefrom will judge how near one of the worst calamities that can overtake this country is now taking place.

Most likely your Lordship will have heard the truth before you receive this letter. But I think it right to let you know in case you should not. I shall be very happy to see Henry again. Mr. Drummond's [ ] comes on Saturday."

John Stonard to Viscount Lowther.

Thursday afternoon, Chertsey.—" I have written to you before to-day but take the liberty of writing once more. I have this moment received a letter from Stanhope who stopped at Staines in his way down to South Hill with Mr. Canning. The intelligence is indeed most melancholy. Mr. Pitt departed this life at ½ past 4 this morning. Stanhope sat up with him and to use his own words he burnt out quietly and went off without a groan or struggle. Probably I shall not be the first bearer of these most unwelcome tidings, but having a moment's time for the post I write lest others should forget to do it."

The Earl of Essex to Viscount Lowther.

1806, January 23rd, London. (*Private.*)—" I was premature only, in my melancholy intelligence, which was owing to Lord Castlereagh having told Lord Rivers positively at 3 o'clock that Mr. Pitt was dead, the last scene did not close till ½ past 4 o'clock this morning, and with that last breath expired the last hopes of this country. That he will hereafter meet the just rewards due to a character who had devoted itself to his country's service I have no doubt. I never saw more heartfelt grief and sorrow in the countenance of every honest man. I will however hope for the best and not suppose that this country can be lost although it is deprived of the services of such a man whose like we shall never look upon again. I will not close this till after I have been up with the Address and know what is likely to be done in the House of Lords or Commons in consequence of this event. Lord Carrington and myself were at Lord Hawkesbury's for a moment last night at 12 o'clock, the account then was as bad as possible, he was sensible and Farquhar had allowed him in the course of the day to see any one he might wish to speak to but he declined it and I believe did not see Lord Chatham or any one but the Bishop of Lincoln with whom he had prayed, and poor fellow, I hear he made a will, but God knows can have had little to leave of anything. How melancholy is this event. We found Lord Castlereagh and Wallace, that great man, with Lord Hawkesbury. I hear Lord Sidmouth was seen with the Prince of Wales in close conference. My friends are kind enough to say that everything went off tolerably well with myself on Tuesday.

5 o'clock.

I have yours and quite agree with you as to what you say respecting a wish to have seen Pitt more out of office during his life. I am just come home from the address to the King, he seemed affected and I hear was

very much so at the account of that event we have all so to lament. I hear no particulars about what is likely to happen. Every man has his own speculation, and a thousand lies are abroad, some say Lord Hawkesbury is to be at the head of everything, others, Lord Sidmouth, he and Lord Henry and Castlereagh have been with the King in private this morning, and the former gave me a hint that the King would make up his mind upon what was to be done in the course of 48 hours. I hardly think anything can come on in the House of Lords or Commons till Pitt is buried. Lord Grenville is gone to Dropmore to-day and I find more afflicted than can be described. I shall probably go out of town very early to-morrow morning, in that case shall not be able to write. I shall stay till something is likely to come on in Parliament, having nothing to do with the present cabals and wishing to be absent from them. Let me know when you mean to come.

[P.S.] They talk of the King sending to Lord Spencer to talk to him. Lord Henry Petty and Lord Althorp are gone down to Cambridge to stand."

The Earl of Essex to Viscount Lowther.

[1806], January 24 (*Private.*)—"I did not leave London early as I intended this morning. I believe all you see in the papers is correct about our poor dear friend's death except that he did not see Lord Chatham or any one except the Bishop of Lincoln and Lord Charles Stanhope at 8 o'clock on Wednesday evening, after which time I believe he was insensible till his death. No blisters were applied to his feet.

I hear nothing certain except that Lord Hawkesbury is decided to remain firm in not making up any patched administration; this I am assured of, and if so the others will come in I conclude, and all Pitt's friends will remain entire and judge which way they ought to give their support or to withhold it. I suspect Lord Sidmouth will lean to Fox and the Prince of Wales. Lord Grenville is gone to Dropmore they say more afflicted than can be described. I have just seen Lord Camden, nothing will be done in Parliament till the funeral is over. I hear the Cabinet are determined one and all to give up. The King is to know this on Saturday."

Lord Camden to Viscount Lowther.

1806, January 24th, Arlington Street.—"I had meant to have written to you on the sad and melancholy prospect which has presented itself for some days respecting Mr. Pitt's health, but I heard you were coming to town. I should not have given you the pain of hearing from me that his last breath is gone or myself the pain of writing it—had I not learnt you were not expected in town for 2 or 3 days.

Upon the event itself I am sure our public and private feelings are in unison. The political crisis is of importance and I should conceive you will think it right to come to town. Indeed myself and many of Mr. Pitt's friends are very desirous you should. It seems to me the Government cannot proceed and there is great temper in the King and amongst his ministers on the occasion."

Lord Mulgrave to Viscount Lowther.

1806, January 25, Harley Street.—"I am sure you will think that the remnant of our dear friend's government have taken the step

best suited to the unhappy state of affairs which the melancholy catastrophe has produced by resigning their offices and advising his Majesty to form a new Government. Lord Grenville will be sent [for] to-morrow, and I trust and hope that such measures will be adopted in the conduct of public affairs as may produce that unanimity in Parliament which is at this moment so essential. Nothing but unanimity and moderation on all sides can give a hope of mitigating the loss which the world and the country has sustained.

With respect to your coming to town I know but one point which might make it particularly desirable to you to be present. You will have seen in this day's paper the notice given by Lascelles of a motion for a public funeral, I do not apprehend that any opposition is likely to be made in the House of Lords, but your situation in life and above all your long steady and well known friendship for the departed object of those public honours would I think render it desirable that you should have a share in the proposal or discussion of such a tribute to his memory.'

The Earl of Essex to Viscount Lowther.

1806, January 26th, Cashiobury.—"I well know what your feelings must be on the late melancholy event, the newspapers will tell you all that is doing in Parliament, and others of your friends can give you better information than myself as to political arrangements about to take place, but I believe that Lord Hawkesbury and the others remain firm in their determination not to continue the government with only replacing the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that would never do and it is unlikely that Lord Grenville will take in many of the present persons at the head of affairs, so that an entire new administration becomes the most likely thing to take place. You will know when any business is likely to come on and probably will be up for it. Henry Lascelles' motion will I believe only go to the funeral of Mr. Pitt which ought to be equal at least to what his father's was. I shall go up on Thursday for a day or two. I dread all this oversetting the King, if he stands the shock all may yet not be so bad, though the loss of our dear friend can never be replaced as long as we live."

The Earl of Westmorland to Viscount Lowther.

1806, January 26th.—"You of course hear a hundred stories—all that can be known is, that the King sent to Lord Grenville to-day to desire him to form an administration. The result of the conversation I have not yet heard.

[P.S.]—House of Lords, 5 o'clock.

Lord Grenville is to go to the King on Thursday"

The Earl of Euston to Viscount Lowther.

[1806], January 27th, Margaret Street.—"I should have written to you before this time if any event political or other worth notice had occurred since the fatal termination of our much lamented friend's illness.

Lascelles moves this day in the House of Commons that his remains should have a public funeral, and that a monument should be erected to his memory. Most of his most intimate friends are averse to any proposition being made in Parliament respecting his debts, I

cannot say that I think they have judged wisely. With regard to new arrangements nothing has as yet transpired. Lord Grenville went to the King (being sent for) at about one o'clock to-day. You shall hear from me again when more is known."

The Earl of Euston to Viscount Lowther.

[1806], January 28th.—"Nothing has transpired but that Lord Grenville received yesterday the King's commands to form an administration which will be laid before his Majesty to-morrow."

Charles Long (afterwards Lord Farnborough) to Viscount Lowther.

[1806], January 28th, 30 Hill Street.—(*Most private and confidential*). "I arrived in town from Ireland last night and sent to your house this morning in the hope of seeing you. I will not attempt to express to you the affliction I feel at this moment. The country has sustained an irreparable loss, but I confess whatever sensations I feel on that consideration are absorbed in my own private feelings.

I am anxious at this moment to perform a duty I owe towards you. You will remember having placed in my hands a sum to be employed for a particular purpose. I looked immediately into the state of the debt to which this was to be applied and I found it so considerable (at that time above 20,000), that it would have done very little towards its liquidation. Under the circumstances I thought I could not better carry into effect your kind intentions than by reserving it for such pressing occasions as unfortunately had but too often occurred. I was enabled by so doing to prevent the most unpleasant consequences by the advancement of two sums at different times, one of 200*l.* and the other of 500*l.*, and last September the remainder was directed to be employed for the purpose of removing an execution. But I was in the country at the time and I found on my arrival in town that other means had been found and the execution taken out of the house. I am therefore to return you this sum of 800*l.* which I will do when you return to town.

I have only to hope that in acting on this as I did on every occasion in the manner most conducive (to the best of my judgment) to the welfare and happiness of my friend I fulfilled your kind intentions towards him."

W. Spencer Stanhope to Viscount Lowther.

1806, January 29th, Grosvenor Square.—"What you conjectured to me on Sunday appeared last night very likely to come to pass, namely, that the two parties of Grenville and Fox were likely to disagree even at the outset. From a hint that Fox let fall last night it appeared that no arrangement was then made, and from the ill-temper shown both by him and Grey to Lord Castlereagh, and above all the offensive speech of Windham on Monday, there seems to be little disposition to conciliate the friends of Pitt. They surely must or ought at least to wish for a strong and popular administration, but the party feelings, and demeanour and language of the Foxites seem to me to be as violent and bitter as ever, and that they would prefer a dissolution of the present Parliament before the trouble of obtaining its good will. I could not help writing these few lines and will not close my letter till near the time of the post's going out.

All I have been able to learn in my morning's walk is that there has been a great struggle whether the Duke of York or Lord Moira should be commander-in-chief, but which is to have it I cannot tell. The result of all this scramble we shall probably know more of to-morrow."

The Earl of Westmorland to Viscount Lowther.

1806, January 30th, London.—"I have nothing of any authority to tell you. There seem doubts whether Grenville as auditor can be first Lord of Treasury, and Lord Spencer is talked of. I have some reason to believe Mansfield is to be Keeper or Chancellor and Erskine Chief Justice of Common Pleas.

Grenville has not been able to make out his plan to go to the King to-day.

We have to our other hopes to add that of Lord Cornwallis."

The Earl of Westmorland to Viscount Lowther.

[1806], January 31st, Friday, ¼ before six.—"Lord Grenville went to the King to-day. I do not hear very particularly their arrangements. It is said their Cabinet is to consist of nine Foxites and four Grenvilles, but this cannot be. All that seems quite certain is that Lord Sidmouth has made terms with them, and is to be either President or Privy Seal. There is some talk of Grant being Chancellor. The story in circulation of Lord Melville's death is unfounded. Lady Chatham is exceedingly ill."

[P.S.] "Lord Buckinghamshire is to have an office, I believe not in the Cabinet."

The Earl of Westmorland to Viscount Lowther.

Saturday, February 1st.—"I can add very little to what I did yesterday. The seals seem at last intended for Erskine, which is shocking. I do not suppose we shall resign before Tuesday. I have just been with the King who seems very quiet, but much hurt. Lady Chatham continues very ill.

Supposed to be

Lord Grenville	1st Lord.
Lord Spencer	Secretary for Home.
Fox	Foreign.
Wyndham	War.
Grey	Admiralty.
Erskine	Chancellor.
Sidmouth	Privy Seal.
FitzWilliam	President.
Moira	Ordnance, or Ireland.
Ellenborough	of Cabinet."

The Earl of Westmorland to Viscount Lowther.

[1806], February 3rd, London.—"A violent rumour prevailed at the Opera circulated by all the party that the arrangement for the new ministry was off. That Lord Grenville had been bowed out by the King, saying he should reconsider the subject. What the exact state was I cannot tell you, nor is, but I believe something proposed respecting the military command, either to remove his Royal Highness or to take

away his powers, and in addition to the appointment of Erskine to be Chancellor, which seems to give universal disgust. It was rumoured last night that this hitch was to be got over, whether by his Majesty's submission or by some alteration on the part of their High Mightinesses I cannot say, for I do know no more of the matter than the town reports. If anything should come to my knowledge before six I will add," &c.

"By the accounts stuck up, the King has in a degree yielded. Grenville was to go to him again this evening. Our troops from the Continent are embarking and may soon be expected home."

Lord Camden to Viscount Lowther.

1806, February 3rd, Arlington Street.—"You will have seen the list of the new administration in the newspapers and will be somewhat surprised after the professions of forming an administration upon a broad basis, that not a single word has passed from Lord Grenville to any man connected with Mr. Pitt, but that the honourable connexion with Lord Sidmouth was immediately resorted to. There have been some difficulties but I believe they will all be overcome and that the government will be formed. Although I cannot avoid making the observation I have done, I am the last person who is inclined to begin to oppose the Government, and if they do not fall upon our measures I should wish to give a real support to their measures. Though it is quite impossible to give one's confidence to the men, for Lords Grenville and Spencer are the only persons in whom one can have any confidence. Whenever the discussion takes place on the subject of the Continental conduct of the late Government (as I may now term it) I hope you will be able to be in your place. There was no part of our dear and respected friend's conduct on which he conceived himself so well entitled to commendation or any part of it on which he more entirely deserved it."

W. Spencer Stanhope to Viscount Lowther.

1806, February 4th, Grosvenor Square.—"You may very possibly know more of the new arrangements than I do, but whatever they are they are to take place immediately, as the King has we are told consented to a military Council which I heartily approve. Last night after the payment of Pitt's debts had been carried unanimously, Fox gave notice of a Bill to be passed this day to enable Grenville to hold the office of First Lord of the Treasury with that of Auditor. The last office was given him by Pitt, who never thought of keeping it himself, and the return he makes to his memory is to turn out every man in office who supported him, and instead of acting as the leader of Pitt's friends, and who were so long his own, I fear it is true though hardly credible that he spurns them from him. I met Lord Glastonbury yesterday morning and *entre nous* he says he cannot conceive what his cousin is driving at, that he does not approve at all of his present arrangements, and that he considers Lord Grenville and Lord Spencer to be the only two in the Cabinet that can strictly be held to belong to them. Think of Lord Ellenborough, the first criminal Judge, being of the Cabinet, a and unprecedented breach of the constitution, and for what is it? That he may have the pleasure of ordering an arraignment for high treason in Council and giving sentence upon it in Court, and so become both judge and party in causes of life and death.

Erskine too is to be Chancellor, and what at this moment appears to me worst of all, Grey is to go to the Admiralty. Is not all this cast of parts like forcing Mrs. Siddons into a comic, and Mrs. Jordan into a tragic character. I feel very differently now from what I did at Cottesmore last week, I then hoped that Lord Grenville would have selected the fittest men for the higher departments from all parties, and by forming a strong and popular Administration, and it cannot be the one without being the other, have afforded the best chance to save the state: as it is, God send us a good deliverance. To go into opposition now would only insure our destruction, but I see no ground for confidence and much for most gloomy prognostic.

I have this moment heard that Lord Grenville wrote a handsome letter to Lord Bathurst to request him to keep the mastership of the Mint, which he peremptorily declined."

George Canning to Viscount Lowther.

1806, Sunday, February 9th, Somerset House.—"I think it right to let you know that within a short time after my return home from Charles Street yesterday, the Attorney General (Perceval I mean) and Lord Castlereagh called on me for the express purpose of asking what sentiments I and those who felt with me in respect to Mr. Pitt, entertained, and what part we were inclined to take in the present situation of affairs, and of expressing on their own part and that of those with whom they had acted, an earnest desire that Mr. Pitt's friends of all descriptions should, if possible, come to some general understanding, and concert so far as circumstances may admit a common line of conduct.

It always appears to me so much the best policy, as well as the fairest mode of acting, to state openly whatever one has in one's mind—when one is called upon to state anything—that I had very little hesitation in confessing to them the extent and nature of the difficulties (such as your Lordship and I had considered them) which seemed to be in the way of any such concert and understanding between two sets of men, who agreeing in the point from which they set out might yet differ widely as to that to which they were to direct their proceedings. I took for granted that we should all agree as to the propriety of beginning with general professions of support to this, or to any Government which his Majesty had been pleased to form, so long as it conducted the affairs of the country upon principles such as we had been accustomed to profess and to uphold, &c., &c. But when the time should come (as it must come) for finding out that departure from those principles which would justify one taking a part against the Government, then I expressed my apprehension that those who had belonged to the Government which Mr. Pitt succeeded, would probably look to Lord Sidmouth's influence with the King as the best means for forming a new administration, and would shape their conduct in the way best calculated to give him support in such an undertaking. Whereas I, and those in whose sentiments I shared certainly considered Lord Grenville as the direct and lawful inheritor of the support of Mr. Pitt's friends, provided he continued to maintain Mr. Pitt's system, and provided he shewed himself disposed to call for our aid. We should therefore look for his separation from his present colleagues as the best chance for the formation either of a new administration (in the event of Lord Grenville's getting the better in the struggle and having a new administration to form) or (in the event of his being obliged to resign) of such an opposition as might afford an effectual protection to the country against a system the reverse

of Mr. Pitt's, and a solid resource to the King whenever he might be disposed to avail himself of it.

I was not a little surprised when Lord Castlereagh immediately answered that I had spoken exactly their opinions, and upon my observing that there were others who had been more personally opposed to Lord Grenville and more intimately connected with Lord Sidmouth whose sentiments I imagined must be different, he said that he was authorised to declare on behalf of Lord Hawkesbury that he also agreed in these opinions, and that he was ready to co-operate precisely on the grounds, and for the objects, which I had described.

I then proceeded to mention the second difficulty which your Lordship and I had talked of in the morning—that arising out of questions connected with Lord St. Vincent and his naval administration—I said that the part of the new arrangements which gave most offence to me, and to most others, I believed, who felt as I did about Mr. Pitt, and which at the same time I did conscientiously believe to be most detrimental to the public service, was the revival of the St. Vincent system throughout all the naval departments. It was impossible that many questions should not come before Parliament in which the merits of this system would be necessarily subject of discussion. Mr. Jeffery's motion alone, which no power on earth could keep back, would force such a discussion upon us. Were we like to agree as to the part to be taken in it? Would the former colleagues and defenders of Lord St. Vincent against Mr. Pitt, take the same part as those who then held and now hold Mr. Pitt's opinions upon the subject? If not we should split upon the point, perhaps the most personally connected with Mr. Pitt's name, and certainly the best calculated to make impression against the Government.

Lord Castlereagh answered for himself and Lord Hawkesbury that they should have no difficulty in conforming their conduct rather to the opinions of Mr. Pitt, than to any notion of tenderness for their former colleague, Lord St. Vincent, and Perceval said that he would examine the grounds of Jeffery's motion with the utmost impartiality, and if he found them to be as strong as I believed them to be, he certainly should not feel a less strong inclination to give that motion, or any measure of the same sort, his warmest support in the House of Commons. Upon the general character of the new naval arrangements they professed to feel just as we do.

Unquestionably these concessions (for such they are) remove the chief impediments which we thought might be in the way of an union between the two different classes of Mr. Pitt's friends. Whether upon any other ground such an union would be inexpedient, is a point upon which I confess I have not been able fully to make up my own mind since my conversation with your Lordship yesterday. It is a point which I wish to leave open until I shall have had an opportunity of conversing with you again, and I have therefore only agreed, as the result of what passed with Lord Castlereagh and Perceval, that there may safely be a general intimation to different individuals of both classes that an understanding is likely to take place, without specifying of what description or to what extent. Thus much was thought to be absolutely necessary to prevent people from committing themselves at once to the new Government under the notion that there was no alternative open to them. And this will, I trust, be quite sufficient for a week or ten days, by which time I suppose there is a probability of your Lordship's being in town.

[P.S.]—You will observe that the changes go on in a way which shews that they set all interest, even Lord Grenville's, at defiance. W. Pole, Lord Wellesley's brother, and Hammond, Lord Grenville's under-secretary, are among the last dismissals."

The Earl of Westmorland to Viscount Lowther.

[1806], February 14th, London.—"We have had nothing of notice since you left us, and I think rumours have not been very numerous. One that has been in circulation can hardly be true, that Fox has a mind to a trial of another India Bill. I should think he would be very glad to remove the present direction of the India House. Another story is that they mean again to get a draft from the Militia. After the violent manner in which this was opposed last year, they can hardly have the face to propose it, nor would it in truth add any efficient strength as our present object is defence at home, and indeed I think we have force nearly enough. However as they have talked so much they must propose something, and they will look very mean in the first instance to copy what they so abused, and so I cannot believe this. Fox's speech to the electors of Westminster was careful enough, but when he got to the whig club, the cloven foot seemed to shew in his toasts, viz.,—'The cause of liberty all over the world,' which was always drank as a sentiment of the French revolution."

The Earl of Chatham to Viscount Lowther

1806, February 17th, Dover Street.—"Notwithstanding your kind injunctions to the contrary yet painful as the subject is I cannot resist writing you a few lines as I should be sorry you should learn from any other hand than mine when the last sad ceremony is to take place, and the arrangements made concerning it. The day which I find the Lord Chamberlain has fixed is the 22nd instant. I cannot I assure you find words to express how deeply I feel the sentiments contained in your letter. I can with great truth say that I know the feelings of uninterrupted friendship and affection were most truly and sincerely returned on the part of my poor brother towards you, and nothing can be more gratifying to me than that you as one of the nearest of his friends should attend among the six assistant mourners selected for this painful duty."

George Canning to Viscount Lowther.

1806, February 19th, Somerset House.—"It is a very great satisfaction to me that your Lordship sees the present situation of things, and the motives of objects which ought to govern the conduct of Mr. Pitt's friends in the same light in which I had occasion to represent them in the conversation which I reported to you last week.

Nothing material has taken place since that time, except that I think one finds reason every day to be satisfied that there are a much greater number of individuals than one had imagined, waiting and wishing for an opportunity of concerting and co-operating in some general understanding, while on the other hand the government, but especially the Foxite part of it, are said to spare no pains and no promises to draw people to themselves.

I shall be very glad if when you come to town you can conveniently make such a stay here as would enable you to collect the opinions of that description of persons (mentioned in your letter) who were most nearly attached to Mr. Pitt, out of office, as personal friends or political admirers.

So highly do I rate the importance of such opinions, that I have been from the beginning and am still entirely persuaded that nothing

can be done or attempted (even if opportunities the most provokingly favourable were to offer themselves) unless some persons of that description shall consent to lend their names, influence, and character to give weight and consistency to the connexion which we have in view.

I need hardly say that I look to your Lordship (and I am not singular in doing so) as one of the persons the most peculiarly qualified from long known disinterested attachment to Mr. Pitt, from personal weight, and from the very circumstance of never having hitherto taken any active share in party politics—to give that countenance to such a plan, and to take that lead among any combination of Mr. Pitt's friends, which can alone rescue many of us from the obvious imputation of being actuated by no other motive than a desire to scramble for our offices.

It is on this account particularly that I very earnestly wish it may not be inconvenient to you to remain for a short time in London."

George Rose to Viscount Lowther.

[1806, February.]—"From the time the melancholy stroke was inflicted upon us by the loss of Mr. Pitt, I hardly ever went out except to the House of Commons (where I felt it a duty to go) and once to call on you, till I came here to be free from an interruption I felt painful to me. As I found your Lordship was going out of town the morning after I was at your door I did not then make any further attempt to see you, but I shall be very glad if you will allow me to have a little quiet conversation with you on your return.

Avoiding intercourse with persons on the present state of things as much as possible, I have talked with only two friends at all confidentially on the subject, to whom I found it necessary to express myself strongly and freely respecting the course of proceeding at first proposed. The one which seems now to be thought of appears a much more desirable one. My appetite for political concerns is by no means keen, and I stated to the persons before alluded to an earnest wish to know how far Mr. Pitt's friends can have your Lordship's protection and countenance before I commit myself in the remotest degree. It will therefore be a real comfort to me to have an early opportunity of suggesting to your Lordship my view of public matters at present.

A line directed to Old Palace Yard will find me there any time after Wednesday evening, and I will wait on your Lordship at any time on Thursday or Friday."

George Rose to Viscount Lowther.

1806, February 21st, Old Palace Yard.—"Next to an opportunity of seeing you for a quarter of an hour nothing could be so satisfactory as your letter, it has afforded me real comfort, and I shall wait without impatience for an opportunity entirely convenient to yourself to have some conversation with you. My only anxiety has been that nothing should be done hastily or unadvisedly, of which there does not now appear to be the remotest danger. I trust there will be no difficulty in keeping Mr. Pitt's friends together, which I am sure is essential to the public interest. I return to Buckden with the Bishop on Tuesday for a week, after which I shall settle here."

John Stonard to Viscount Lowther.

1806, February 23rd, Chertsey.—"Yesterday, I understand you assisted in committing to their last earthly mansion the mortal remains of

the greatest of statesmen and your friend. It was the discharge of a very awful and affecting duty. In the course of the morning I often thought of your Lordship and poor James Stanhope. It must have been to him a most heart-rending day. He parted with his best friend beneath the sun, from his guardian, his father. He may however be sure of all the consolation that sympathy can afford. The whole nation, I may say the whole world, suffers with him, and a great portion of both mourns also. . . . . In Lord Nelson we lost a right hand of the kingdom, but in Mr. Pitt we have lost the acting soul, the presiding reason of the state, that which employed its wealth and directed its force to the best and wisest ends. I think there are marks to [be] discerned of astonishment and terror even among his adversaries. For after all their opposition I suspect they reposed more confidence in him than themselves. They felt that he was made for command. They knew by experience that he was neither to be driven or diverted from his purpose, and they knew that the whole country reposed their firmest trust and their highest hopes in his talents, his integrity and his firmness. Nothing but the fanatical folly of Sir Francis or the diabolical malevolence of Mr. Windham can hesitate to acknowledge and deplore the greatness of our loss. Indeed we cannot yet estimate its total amount. I hope we shall not be made to feel it. Mr. Pitt seemed to have been given by heaven to the nation in order to save it, and he has performed that high office in more instances than one. But we need him still ; we need him more than ever. May God therefore have mercy on us and make his own divine power and protection more evident and more glorious in this our state of weakness. His late servant lived, though not, we fear enough for us, yet enough for himself, for his own fame and happiness. For though his life was short in number of years, yet it was very long, longer than the days of man, in activity and honour. In the welfare of his country he yet lives, and we trust will continue to live. The impression of his mighty hand is fixed indelibly upon it, and let us pray that neither the imprudence of his successors nor the efforts of our enemies may overthrow the fabrick that is thus impressed.

We need not wait I think for history to do him justice.

The present age is every day becoming more sensible of his deserts, and though ' the memorials of his friendships and his enmities have not yet perished,' yet his decease has, except in some few breasts of more atrocious malignity than ordinary, already damped the fiery spirit of party violence and will speedily make us regret that he was not when living valued as he deserved to be. The breath of posthumous admiration will soon swell to its proper note the trump of true glory.

I was truly sorry to learn from your Lordship's letter that Lord Grenville is disposed to show so little attention to the friends of Mr. Pitt. It is I think not more inconsistent with humane and honourable feelings than with sound policy. His Lordship cannot consider Lord Sidmouth as better than a broken reed, and surely he cannot look to Mr. Fox and his party, however connected by present interest, for any sure support in the hour of need, upon motives either of agreement in political principles or of personal attachment. Mr. Pitt's friends were his friends and he ought to be sensible of their value.

Henry conducts himself entirely to my satisfaction. He is certainly improving, and I think is more attentive than he used to be. But patience is absolutely necessary. It must be ' line upon line, precept upon precept.' He agrees vastly well with Drummond. Indeed it would be wonderful if he did [not],[f] or they are both as good-tempered lads as ever it was my lot to see."

Lord Camden to Viscount Lowther.

1806, February 25th, Arlington Street. —" You will have seen in the newspapers that notice has been given of a motion in each House of Parliament for Monday next by Lord Bristol in the House of Lords and by Spencer Stanhope in the House of Commons. These notices have been given without the slightest communication with any of those who are inclined to take a more moderate line and seem at once to show that it is determined by the new opposition not to wait for events which may call for observation, but to seek for them. That the appointment of Lord Ellenborough to a seat in the Cabinet is a measure I disapprove. I do not deny but to make it the matter of a specific motion strikes me as very unjudicious even to their own views, as the defence of the measure will more closely unite Lords Grenville and Sidmouth, and plausible arguments will be given for this appointment. But the reason of my writing to you is in consequence of the conversation we had, and, as Spencer Stanhope has given notice of the motion, you will probably be supposed to be more eager and more engaged in this sort of measure than by your language to me you seemed inclined to be. You will of course take whatever steps you think right, but I thought it right to give you this intimation as well as to repeat that these notices have been given without any communication with me, the Duke of Montrose, Lord Chatham, Lord Bathurst, Long, and others."

Lord Mulgrave to Viscount Lowther.

1806, February 25th, Harley Street.—" The important object which you have suggested is but a continued proof of the uniform feeling of paternal affection which has marked the whole course of your long and uninterrupted friendship for the great, amiable, and interesting object of our regret. I will lose no time in consulting with Lord Camden and others of his real friends upon the most effectual mode of collecting ample and authentic materials for putting posterity in possession of the solid and extensive ground on which his great reputation rests. It will be still more difficult to fix upon any professed author capable of doing any justice to the subject, but to this also I will turn my enquiries.

It appears to me also desirable to revive the intention of erecting his statue, for the execution of which very large sums were subscribed amongst the many persons who admired and regret him. It appears to me (perhaps erroneously) that there are few who feel the loss of him as an individual as deeply as I do. You are one of those who do as much justice to his merits and to his memory as I can pretend to do. I do not mean by this to impute any neglect of either, to any of his friends, nor do I know how I happened to express the sentiment, except from a feeling that I shall be most happy to co-operate with you at all times in any course which you may feel to be most conducive to the honour of his memory, either with a view to the greatness of his public, or to the faultless excellence of his private character.

Lord Bristol has given notice of a motion on Monday next on the subject of Lord Ellenborough having a seat in the Cabinet. I have not seen his motion nor do I know either the substance or form of it. I doubt much whether any legal or technical imputation can be fixed upon the appointment, or rather upon the summons to Council. The general principles laid down both by Blackstone and Montesquieu certainly militate against it. There is something, however, in objections to the formation of the ministry which may have too much the

appearance of regret at not having made a part of the administration, to be a desirable line for those who have withdrawn from the Government, and themselves proposed the formation of a new administration. At the same time it appears to me that when a great constitutional question is brought into discussion, any person who has held an high office in the state and has taken an active part in parliamentary debates ought not to shrink from the discussion or at least from being present at it. There are other branches of the government of which I should be more jealous—though this arrangement may be more calculated to startle the national jealousy upon the unbiased administration of criminal justice. I think the individual in question to be of a coarse and violent disposition, but at the same time I do not entertain any very serious apprehension that he will in fact exercise any extraordinary injustice or tyranny on the Bench in consequence of his seat in the Cabinet. I should therefore have been as well satisfied if nothing had been said about it, unless the conduct of the chief justice at any future period should have rendered it necessary. I feel nevertheless that many strong objections in point of responsibility and coercion in parliament present themselves. It is no unusual thing (and we have indeed a very recent instance) for parliament to address the King to remove a minister of state whom they think culpable as such, from his presence and councils for ever. It is at the same time held by many that a judge cannot be removed from the bench but for his misconduct as a judge, and yet it would be an awkward state of things to have a chief justice sitting in the King's Bench who should have been dismissed from the King's presence and council for ever, for having advised an impolitic peace, or any other ministerial measure which might bring upon him the censure of the Houses of Parliament. If in answer it is said that under such censure of the Houses of Parliament the address would be sufficient to remove him from the bench also. The obvious inconvenience arises of rendering the judge's tenure of his judicial office liable to the fluctuation of political parties. I agree so entirely in the opinion which you stated when I saw you in Charles Street, that systematic opposition to every measure of a government is neither wise nor dignified that I was desirous of touching upon some of the points which occurred to me upon this question which I have not stirred. I conclude you have had a little share in the step taken by your friend Spencer Stanhope, as I have in the course adopted by my cousin, Lord Bristol. The appointment is certainly the more objectionable as they cannot want a common law adviser in the Cabinet if the present Chancellor be good for anything.

I hear rumours of great alterations in the military system of the country. I shall not be disposed to object to any tolerably rational measures and shall content myself with upholding the merit of those already adopted under the influence of the great statesman who proposed them, and with resisting any injurious comparisons which may be attempted between those and such as are to be brought forward to replace them. I have given you a political sermon, little short of the usual length of essays which bear that name, but it is impossible to consider any point relating to Pitt without being led on to other subjects connected with his pursuits and with the course and conduct which he would have approved in those whom he knew to be his friends."

LORD MULGRAVE to VISCOUNT LOWTHER.

1806, March 1st, Harley Street.—"In pursuance of the object of your letter I called upon Rose to enquire what materials he possessed

or could procure for the life of Mr. Pitt, he assured me that he had very numerous and important papers relating to the principal points of his public conduct and character, and that the Bishop of Lincoln has much with respect both to his private and public life which will afford a most material and satisfactory addition to what he (Rose) can supply. He mentioned a Mr. Mackenzie as likely both from his talents and warm attachment to our friend to do justice to his memory. He also suggested the Bishop of Lincoln as likely to execute the work with zeal and fidelity. I however expressed to him my doubt of the Bishop giving to the work the necessary brilliancy and animation of style which should distinguish the biography of so illustrious a character, a striking feature of which was that splendour of language which should at least not be neglected in describing him. On the subsequent day Rose informed me that he had received a letter from the Bishop gratuitously stating his own disposition to undertake such a work. This is rather embarrasing as from consulting Lord Camden on the subject he does not seem to entertain any hope of a very spirited history from that quarter, and it is highly important that there should be something in the manner of telling the facts which may keep alive to a late period the desire and pleasure of perusing them. The negociation of the transfer of the materials into other hands if it can be undertaken must be attempted by those who are most intimate with the Bishop.

I have just received your letter of the 28th February. I will enquire of Mr. Angerstein, who was one of the principal promoters of the subscription for the colossal statue, how much money was actually deposited. The subscription certainly was very great and the order for the execution of the statute was only delayed out of consideration to the British inhabitants in India that they might have the opportunity of gratifying their feelings by adding largely to the sums already engaged.

You will see by this day's papers that there is still grace enough in the city to spurn at any illiberal attempt to retract the honours which have been voted to the memory of the national benefactor, the motion for revising the order for this statue in Guildhall has been rejected by a majority of near two to one."

George Rose to Viscount Lowther.

1806, March 4th, Old Palace Yard.—"My intention of returning to Buckden was defeated, which prevented my receiving your letter till yesterday. The Bishop is gone to Bury for a few days, to whom I have written respecting the wish you expressed, and I am quite confident he will do all in his power towards the gratification of it; of Lord Chatham being so disposed I need give you no assurance. I think the Bishop mentioned the Princess of Wales having requested to have the bust of the late Lord Chatham, but I do not know whether she had any assurance of it. In any event I am persuaded some way will be found of complying with your anxious wish.

I delayed one post writing to your Lordship in order to communicate to you anything interesting that might pass in either pass (*sic*), you will however learn nearly all from the newspapers that I could tell you. I had not the remotest idea of a division in the House of Commons, and saw so little appearance of a possibility of it that I actually wrote to some friends to say they need not come to town. You will see that not one half of the House of Commons was present. Of Mr. Pitt's friends, Mr. William Dundas was in the majority, and I think Sir Evan Nepean

and one other of the ministers; some absent under the impression I have mentioned, with whom I had no communication, Mr. Cartwright, Sir Henry Mildmay, and others."

John Stonard to Viscount Lowther.

1806, March 3rd, Chertsey.—"I received your very obliging letter yesterday morning and perfectly agree with your Lordship that Mr. Pitt's character as a statesman never soared to a higher pitch than it had attained at the moment of his death. A sense of truth and justice has extracted that honourable testimony from the hostile lips of General Tarleton. Even the capture of the Cape, the fruit of his counsels, though an event of great importance and advantage to the country, loses its merit and value by comparison with the so much higher glory of that alliance in which his singular wisdom and dexterity had contrived to link together such jarring materials by bonds of particular interest and general good. To form opinions merely by events is the common idolatry of fools. The man who believes and adores the wisdom of the supreme Providence in the production of final good, respects the wisdom by which inferior agents aim at a more immediate improvement of their condition. Their merit he sees lies not in the process but in the sagacity of their plans.

Nothing can be more just than your Lordship's observation upon the necessity of some person immediately undertaking a history of Mr. Pitt's administration and believe me my good lord I feel in full force the very high honour you are pleased to confer in proposing to me to undertake it. But I hope you will allow me a week to deliberate. It will be a work of no common extent and importance. The subject is among the greatest and the noblest that the world can offer to exercise the understanding of man. When I consider what a field it opens to the utmost reach of comprehension, what an exercise of judgment in all its offices, and of taste in various branches it will demand, I am ready almost to blame your Lordship for making me the proposal, and myself for entertaining one thought of accepting it. When I lift up my eyes to the supreme elevation at which Mr. Pitt stood in the scale of human genius, and think of approaching near to scan the lineaments as it were of his greatness and to present to the world the form and figure of his mighty mind, I seem to be repelled by feelings of more than diffidence, of awe rising almost to terror. It seems to me that none but himself could be a worthy historian of his fame.

My friend Hugh Cholmondeley, the new dean of Chester, having been here for a few days, I have consulted him on the subject and he gives his voice for my undertaking the labour. He has just now left me and I have desired him to send down Heber immediately that I may consult him too. Your Lordship will I trust excuse me for having mentioned this matter to these friends as it shall not for the present go any further, and I really wish much for the advice of judicious friends. Your Lordship will permit me also I hope to suggest the propriety of writing not merely a history of Mr. Pitt's administration but of his life, that not only the greatness but the amiableness of his character may be presented to public view. I have reason to think that I can obtain some very interesting anecdotes of his earlier years, which I am sure will be denied to some persons. This is from my friend Cholmondeley."

JOHN STONARD to VISCOUNT LOWTHER.

1806, March 6th, Chertsey.—"From my answer to your last letter though I requested an interval to deliberate upon the subject of your proposal, yet it must have been pretty evident that I have at least no repugnance to the undertaking proposed. My hesitation arises from nothing but doubts of my own ability to do justice to so exalted a theme, and of my finding leisure for the necessary application to such a laborious task as I conceive it will be. I expect, though not with certainty, my friend Heber to day and I am disposed to yield myself to his direction. Certainly if the work shall be committed to my hands I shall proceed to it *con amore*. My admiration of Mr. Pitt has been from my earliest years and is now as high as any human object can raise it, and I feel not only that high regard for his memory which every true lover of his country ought, but even the nearer ties of personal attachment. Stanhope has informed me that the day before he died Mr. Pitt recommended him to return to me if his military duties would permit. What a heart then must I have if I were not sensible of the value of such a man's approbation at such an hour. I perceive that Lord Mulgrave proposes what I took the liberty of suggesting to your Lordship, a Life of Mr. Pitt. Ever since his death I have thought it highly probable that the Bishop of Lincoln would undertake it, and if he should, I own that I shall entertain the same apprehension with Lord Mulgrave and Lord Camden. Besides in a piece of biography which should include the whole of Mr. Pitt's life, the history of his earlier years would form a most interesting feature. But by far the principal part of the memorials necessary to illustrate these is in the hands of Mrs. Wilson or her family, and I am well assured that the Bishop of Lincoln is the last man in the world to whom they would communicate these materials. The dean of Chester, as I before hinted to your Lordship, has promised to use all the influence he possesses (and I believe that is considerable) to procure everything of this kind in the power of Mrs. Wilson or her family, in case I shall be engaged in this important and honourable employment. This however your Lordship will perceive must he kept a secret from the Bishop, who may perhaps in his turn refuse to communicate to those who may be favoured by the Wilsons. The Bishop of Lincoln I am informed (and your Lordship will know whether I am rightly informed or not) though called Mr. Pitt's tutor, was in fact only his college tutor, *pro formâ*. Mr. Wilson having remained at Cambridge with his illustrious pupil and had the whole and sole care of his education. The Bishop therefore could not have had any intimate connexion with him till he became his private secretary. I might say more to your Lordship on the subject of this life, but I fear lest when I enclose Lord Mulgrave's letter the packet should become over weight. There is one thing however which I much desire, that whoever shall undertake the life, it may not be made or considered as a party work. As such it will never go down to distant posterity. Let those who still retain their former spirit of malevolence to the dead know that his friends are animated by the purer genius of those heavens to which we trust he is gone through the divine mercies, a meritorious and immortal guest."

GEORGE ROSE to VISCOUNT LOWTHER.

1806, March 7th, Old Palace Yard.—"The subject of your letter is, you will easily believe a highly interesting one to me. While I was at Buckden I had repeated conversations with the Bishop upon it,

whose anxiety about it must also be unquestionable. We talked of undertaking the work jointly, but nothing was decided, and are agreed to delay a final determination till he shall be in town the latter end of this month. Your Lordship will probably be up also about that time, when we may have an opportunity of coming to some settlement on the point. I have no hesitation in saying that I have so much confidence in your Lordship's judgment that I shall feel entirely disposed to waive the part I thought of taking, and to give the best aid in my power to the gentleman you have in view, and I think the Bishop will have as little hesitation in acquiescing in your suggestion as I have. He had Mr. Pitt with him as you know from fourteen years of age, or thereabouts, and never quitted him till he left the University, the interval between that and his coming into office was not a very long one, and from that time I was not separated from him six weeks in any one year; both of us in the closest confidence during the periods with the incomparable creature. I assure you my Lord with perfect sincerity that so far from feeling in the smallest degree uncomfortable at giving up the intention (by no means a fixed one) of executing the work in the whole or in part, it is a real gratification to me that you have thought of it in the manner you have. I write this in great haste because I would not lose a post. I may perhaps wish from the intimate knowledge I have of our late friend's character, to express what I really had experienced of it in a few pages, which may be adopted or rejected as shall hereafter be thought right."

The Earl of Essex to Viscount Lowther.

1806, March 10th, Berkeley Square.—"The hope and expectation of seeing you in London has prevented my writing which I wished to do with a view of communicating to you most openly the result of my own reflections and considerations upon all that has been going on *dans le monde politique*, and though I may be mistaken in my conjectures yet I feel inclined to think that from all I see and hear there is very little chance of that degree of unanimity or close connection being kept up between what was called Mr. Pitt's party which we thought might be likely to take place, but I fancy amongst that party there are too many jarring interests and political speculations, and animosity towards many now in power to make it possible that those who might wish to hold together could do so with any effect unless it was *sub auspice* of some one who does not at this moment appear as a leader. It is evident that Lord Castlereagh and Lord Hawkesbury, and Lord Mulgrave consider themselves as decided enemies to Fox and Lord Grenville, and the former I suspect has no small influence over Lord Camden, not the most decided character in public or private matters. Lord Bathurst I have always thought very hostile to Fox, personally, and the Duke of Montrose evidently shews strong marks of discontent, at least he expressed himself so at not being consulted upon Lord Bristol's motion, whereas he could [not] be so, because Lord Bristol had not even communicated his intentions to Lord Hawkesbury. It was an idea of his own and I believe he wrote only to Lord Sidmouth on the subject. I therefore think that his private friendship for Lord Grenville will very shortly outweigh all ideas of scruple, and that the living friend will beat the departed one hollow. In the House of Commons there are perturbed spirits enough, and though Canning and many others of that description are labouring hard to create an opposition I do not think they are likely to succeed, as many are inclined to watch the measures

of the present men, but few I believe think it wise or prudent to commence a system of opposing upon all occasions; as far as related to that question the other day it was evident that no plan was acted upon as ought to have been the case. I was at Windsor on the Saturday as was Charles Long who wished to see the King and whom I knew the King wished also to see, and his sentiments and feelings are such as they ought to be, he is not at all pleased at his present government being opposed whilst they conduct themselves upon principles such as governed their predecessors. He said he was too old to change his principles and was much pleased when Long signified to him that he thought Lord Grenville was of the same opinion, and that he might be sure of not being deserted by him, and he is evidently alarmed at those who now appear inclined to act in opposition, thinking that such conduct may be imputed to secret influence on his part and give rise to mistrust and jealousy on theirs, and it has that effect from a conversation Lord Lauderdale held with Long at the Duchess of Gordon's two nights ago when he expressed his opinion on some act of Lord Sligo's who had given his proxy I believe to Lord Bristol or Lord Hawkesbury. Lord Camden whom I met yesterday again repeated, upon my asking what was to be done should any business come on soon, that we ought to hold back. It is then from these circumstances and others perhaps of a more trifling nature and yet connected with the general system that I allude to, that I feel very anxious to know your sentiments. I have endeavoured, I assure you, to weigh all these matters, divesting myself of every prejudice and of every degree of partiality which is equally (as to individuals) divided between those in and those out of power, and though I sincerely wish that Mr. Pitt's friends had formed a part of the present government, yet I cannot see that the country is likely to suffer any injury from the loss of the abilities of those who were in high situations under Mr. Pitt. To those who were hostile to any idea of junction with Mr. Fox at the last period of Mr. Pitt's coming into power the present administration cannot be agreeable, but were we of that opinion? I think the contrary. On what grounds then should we abstain at this moment from giving support to those measures which are not in opposition to those rules and principles upon which Mr. Pitt acted? And in giving our support to those measures are we precluded at any moment when those principles are broken in upon from opposing such measures in the strongest possible manner? Are we not more likely to shew Lord Grenville that it is to him we look up, by an open support than by absence which may bear the doubtful combination of concurrence or dissatisfaction? Will he not be more apt to rate his own strength higher from such support? and thus feel less dependent on Mr. Fox and his party when he knows that he has a strong party of his own that is inclined to rally round him if he should differ in any degree with those he now acts. And I confess I have less expectation of those differences being so near at hand than many others who I know think that such must be the case very shortly; it may be so, but are we then at all more pledged or less independent than we were before from having given support to the government? And may it not enter into the calculation of many of those who think themselves as obnoxious to the present leaders of government as they are to those leaders, that if they can keep away certain respectable and independent persons from giving support to the administration it will enable them to take advantage of the events that may take place and so make their own terms by transferring their slaves as the proprietor of one West India plantation does to another. Whilst

Mr. Pitt's friends and supporters had a prospect of being kept really together, and a leader had arisen for that purpose, allegiance to him should have been sworn. No such leader exists, but every one who wishes to be so and knows he cannot, forms his own plan and acts upon it. One stays away, one opposes, and one supports and thus none act together, and I cannot put this more strongly than by saying that on the question of last Monday relating to Lord Ellenborough, when I arrived in town I accidentally met Lord Bathurst who was in pursuit of the Duke of Montrose to tell him that Lord Eldon had been in pursuit of him to express his dissatisfaction that he had not had any communication on this subject. Lord Camden went to Wilderness, and I met Lord Bridgewater a few minutes after (this being 5 o'clock) in Berkeley Square like a dog in a fair who had lost his master, seeking out for some one to direct him to the proper road which he could not find; and Charles Long, who came to town decided not to vote at all, remained in the house, having previously communicated with those who were supposed to act in concert, and had agreed not to divide but did so as he was shut in and forced to divide. Now my dear Lowther after all this, where is the party? Where are the persons to whom one is to look on this occasion? I confess I am bewildered in all these nice and secret schemes, I see one plain way of acting and I wish you may do the same, and I cannot perceive that the taking no part at all amounts to anything short of waiting to take a more decided part whenever events may arise, that may justify subtle and crafty politicians, but cannot nor ought it to influence those who really wish to see this country extricated from its difficulties by the efforts of a united and strong Government. The King is with his Government. Lord Grenville seems to court all parties and some seem averse to accepting those attentions which he offers so constantly, and I suspect as I have before said he feels himself sure of many. You will perhaps say that all this proceeds on my part from having on Saturday partaken of the good things of his table. I did not dare risk writing this the next day, but as the fumes of the Burgundy and champagne are by this time evaporated, and the recollection of the *entrées and entremets* in some measure passed away, I may be considered as rather less interested in any speculations, and which are likely to be done away entirely if you differ from us in opinion, as I shall be more inclined to lean to yours than to adhere to my own, though I think they are not much if at all at variance with Long's, who in a great measure sees things as I do and promised to write to you and tell you all he knew. When have we a chance of seeing you?"

Lord Mulgrave to Viscount Lowther.

1806, March 10, Harley Street.—"Nothing can be more promising than the style and zeal of Mr. Stonard's letter. I saw Rose yesterday who seems cordially disposed to give every assistance in his power by furnishing important materials for the history. I communicated your views and the letter of Mr. Stonard to Lord Camden, Long and Canning, they are all as well satisfied as I am with the prospect of his success in this important work.

I have called twice at Mr. Angerstein's, but he was not in town, I learn however from Long (who has seen him) that there are seven thousand pounds for the statue which will be sufficient to execute it as it ought to be done.

I know of nothing in the way of news worth telling you."

JOHN STONARD to VISCOUNT LOWTHER.

1806, March 11th, London.—"I came to town yesterday to advise with my friend Heber. He concurs with the Dean of Chester in wishing me to undertake this great task. I therefore commit myself entirely to your Lordship with the highest sense of the honour you do me and the favourable opinion you are pleased to entertain of me. The Dean has seen Mrs. Wilson and she has kindly promised that all the papers in her possession shall be at my service. They are of a very interesting nature indeed and of great extent.

I cannot, however, free my mind from serious apprehensions as to the time and labour that must be bestowed on the work, which I fear will meet with great impediments from the attention due to my two pupils."

CHARLES LONG to VISCOUNT LOWTHER.

1806, March 13th, Hill Street.—"I called upon you the day after I had the pleasure of seeing you here, and have since often wished to have some conversation with you upon our political state. However right it might have been to discuss the question of Lord Ellenborough's appointment, we certainly did not do wisely in dividing upon that question, for it was generally understood that no division was to take place, and in such circumstances a division is always most unwise. It had the effect of attempting to shew the strength of party upon a question which was not of a party nature, and upon which that strength had not been collected, but we seem to have among us the *enragés*, and the *moderés*, I am much disposed to class myself among the latter, and in that character I think there is neither good sense, fairness, nor good policy in attempting anything like opposition unless some measure should be brought forward by the government inconsistent with those principles which we have maintained. Our bond of union at present is the defence of the principles and the protection of the memory of Mr. Pitt, so that it seems to me best to confine ourselves till new events justify another course, but while many of us are agreed that Lord Grenville is the fittest person to be placed at the head of the Government it is surely most inconsistent to go into direct opposition to that Government until it is found that he cannot carry his own measures, or until those measures shall appear to be different from what we have reason to expect.

I heard lately to my great satisfaction that you had proposed Mr. Stonard as a fit person to write the life of Mr. Pitt. I had some thoughts of employing the leisure I shall probably have in this way, but so many jealousies from those who could furnish the necessary information would attach to me that would not to him. And besides from what I have heard of him he would do it so infinitely better in every respect that I was delighted to hear you had suggested him. Rose I understand was anxious the Bishop of Lincoln should do it, but I should hope that is quite out of the question.

I had written so far when Lord Essex called upon me with your letter. It is almost unnecessary for me to say that I coincide very much in your views. I confess myself mortified that Lord Grenville should have preferred in his arrangement Lord Sidmouth &c., to those of Mr. Pitt's friends whose assistance he probably might have obtained. I think it in every point of view most injudicious, and I could not help conveying to him what I felt upon that subject. But however un-

just or impolitic I may think this it is no patriotic ground of opposition. Windham is to propose shortly his new military plans, there has been much doubt upon this subject I believe among the ministers, and I really think with all its imperfections he will not produce a better than that which is to be abandoned, and which has lately been productive to the extent of 300 men per week.

I am going into the country on Saturday to stay till after Easter. If we should not otherwise meet I will come up any day and have a *causer* with you when you are settled in town, or perhaps you will take a ride to Bromley Hill where I can give you a bed whenever it may be convenient to you."

John Stonard to Viscount Lowther.

1806, March 16th, Chertsey.—"I was detained in town by business longer than I expected and did not arrive here till Thursday evening when I found your Lordship's letter of the ninth, and this morning brought me that of the 12th. I feel very sensibly my obligations to your Lordship for having mentioned me in such favourable terms to Mr. Rose and others of Mr. Pitt's friends as you must have done to engage their approbation of my undertaking. *Talibus auspicibus nil desperandum est.* Yet I cannot but consider that I have much to read and much to learn before I can begin to enter upon the active part of such a life as Mr. Pitt's. It is not indeed to be expected that his biographer should be able entirely to descry and to comprehend every part of the vast circuit embraced by his sublime and comprehensive genius, if this were necessary I believe his life must remain unwritten. Yet upon the various subjects that such a work will comprise, it will be requisite that the writer should possess some previous knowledge and some capacity to judge, or he will never express himself with elegance, with force, or with perspicuity. I have therefore, let me repeat, a great deal to learn, and some time must elapse before I can be properly qualified even to examine every part of the materials that may come to my hands.

To your Lordship I will freely confess that I think a life of Mr. Pitt by the Bishop of Lincoln and Mr. Rose would not be likely to meet with a favourable reception from the world, and that I think chiefly on Mr. Rose's account. He has been an actor in the scenes he would have to describe and many would be inclined to impute to him not only a partiality for his friend but a desire to vindicate himself. I mention this circumstance because when in town I heard it mentioned that Mr. Canning was a likely person to undertake this subject, but the idea was condemned by several judicious men upon the grounds which I have above stated as objectionable to Mr. Rose's undertaking. At the same time Mr. Rose must not only possess materials of the highest value in letters &c., but from the stores of his own memory and judgment must be able to afford ample instruction and satisfaction to all who are interested in his friend. The aid therefore which he so kindly and liberally offers will be accepted by any biographer with the heartiest thanks. His wish to express what he has experienced of his friend's character will of course meet with the readiest acquiescence, and the pages which he may devote to his labour of love, if from difference of style or any other reason they may be thought likely to appear to less advantage in the body of the work, must certainly afford great assistance to the full delineation of Mr. Pitt's character, and ought to stand whole and unaltered among other important documents in an appendix.

I perceive that I was mistaken about the Bishop of Lincoln, which indeed I discovered while in town. Yet I do understand that Mr. Wilson was Mr. Pitt's tutor for some time after he went to college. But it is very likely that some confusion may have arisen from the circumstance mentioned by your Lordship, that Mr. Pitt did not reside much for two years after he entered at college. Probably Mr. Wilson continued to be his tutor during that time. I am only sorry that the claims of the Bishop and Mr. Wilson to the honour of educating their illustrious pupil should have produced so much ill-will, as I am sure it has. The Bishop must I conceive have it in his power to communicate the most interesting details of Mr. Pitt's private life and private thoughts for the principal part of his life. Cholmondeley has seen several of the papers in Mrs. Wilson's possession. He did not specify to me any letters of the late Lord Chatham's, but in all probability there are some in her hands. He mentioned to me many letters of Mr Wilson's writing containing most interesting anecdotes of the family. There are also two plays in which the young people wrote the parts they were to take, with many other juvenile compositions of Mr. Pitt. It will be a very curious and most interesting task to trace the progress of such a genius from the first dawn of his faculties to their consummation in manhood. Indeed I am inclined to think that to the majority of readers his private life will be the most attractive part of his history. In that not only is he less known to the public, but his character has no opposition to expect from political enmity, his greatness being reduced to a standard which common minds can comprehend he becomes as it were accessible and tangible. His lustre though not obscured, assumes a milder cast, as the sun appears to the eye through a fleecy cloud. How far it may be practicable to blend his public and his private life together, or with what propriety and elegance transitions may be made from the one to the other, it is at present impossible to judge. But I think it would give the performance a stiff and formal appearance if they should be always treated under distinct and separate heads. But these things must be reserved for further consideration. Lord Chatham must have a great deal of valuable matter relative to his brother, and I should suppose Lord Melville possesses many important memorials. Mr. Canning probably has something considerable to contribute, and I will write to Lord Frederick Campbell for whatever he may have, as I know his Lordship was on very intimate terms with Mr. Pitt, and I am sure he will grant me anything that I can reasonably request.

Towards the end of this month I conjecture your Lordship and family will be coming to town when I shall hope to have the honour of a little conversation on the subject.

Mr. Windham's malevolence towards the illustrious dead has not (as your Lordship justly conjectured) been of any service to him at Oxford. Several of his votes I know are come over to Heber. Such is the due reward of political enmity carried beyond the precincts of the grave."

The Earl of Chatham to Viscount Lowther.

1806, March 16th. Dover Street.—" I received your very kind letter of the 8th instant on a subject most interesting to my feelings. As yet I have had but few opportunities of talking with any friends on the subject, but as far as I have gone, and the more I have revolved it in my own mind the more I am induced to think that such a work as you allude to, must involve in it many questions (at so early a period) of a most delicate nature and which will therefore require the utmost consideration

before any decision can be come to respecting it. This of course leads to some delay, and which will give me the opportunity of talking over the proposal with you in all its different points of view, and which I shall be extremely anxious to do whenever you come to town. I had not heard from the Bishop of Lincoln of any idea of his undertaking the task you allude to. He returns however to town again on the 26th of this month."

The Earl of Essex to Viscount Lowther.

1806, March 18th, Berkeley Square.—"I have intended every day to thank you most sincerely for your letter and should have done so had not the gout laid an embargo upon my right foot on Saturday last which however was taken off (that is, the embargo and not the foot) on the following day so as to leave me free from pain and I am now getting quite well though a little weak in the fetlock joint. I dread the return after an attack so short, and wish it may not turn out the blossom of good living only which is to be succeeded by the fruit.

It is impossible for any one to feel more satisfaction than I have derived from the contents of your letter, because every sentiment and intention as to future conduct upon the existing circumstances as they now stand so completely meets my ideas and wishes. If I disagree with you in any part of your letter, and in one I certainly do so most entirely wherein you declare that you do not think yourself fit to be a leader of a party, no one surely could be more properly placed in that situation provided those who formed that party had less ardent minds, more moderation, and above all a greater chance of real unanimity and harmony in their proceedings than at present seems likely to exist. I communicated your sentiments to Long whom I found in the act of writing to you. I am persuaded that the prevailing ideas in his mind are nearly in unison with yours, though perhaps if he did act he would be rather more inclined to oppose than to support, thinking that by keeping away entirely the same end may be accomplished and by means more preferable this could do if a general plan on that subject could be adopted, but as you justly observe, the difficulties that have arisen of keeping Mr. Pitt's friends together is too obviously the result of every day's debate in the House of Commons. Therefore the consequence must be either support or the contrary, it is very well to talk of *moderés* and *enragés*, the former seldom exist, and the latter always do mischief. I think many of our friends have acted hastily by those meetings at dinners which are in direct contradiction to their general language as to moderation and keeping aloof with a view to watch.

Lord Bathurst's dinner last week consisting of Duke of Montrose, Castlereagh, Mulgrave, Hawkesbury, Perceval, Canning, &c., astonished C. Long, as he said he came up for the dinner from Bromley and thought it an even chance that he met Lord Grenville there. I know not what part Lord Camden takes, I think his ideas agree more with ours than others, though Lord Castlereagh will not suffer him to decide otherwise than he wishes. Lord Hertford I am told is very inimical and it is certainly extraordinary that Lord Grenville should suffer all the patronage to go one way which hitherto it has done invariably almost, excepting Lord Stafford who is to be invested next Saturday. The King I hear was on Wednesday peevish and low. Canning, Burne, Rose, Lord Binning, Mildmay, Robert Dundas, and about eight or ten more names are up at White's for dinners every fortnight and yet they say there is no idea of opposition as a system, but the cloven

foot appears in all these measures whatever they may say, and I fear what I before stated that personal animosity to certain characters is the leading principle upon which they oppose, and I think not the just or proper use upon which any respectable opposition should be formed. No one I am sure ought either to offer unconditional support to Lord Grenville, or determine to oppose without knowing what the measures will be, nor can qualified support engage any of Mr. Pitt's old friends to countenance in the slightest degree any proposition that may tend to cast the most distant reflection on the memory or conduct of our departed friend and leader. I wish Lord Sidmouth had not formed any part of the present Government, but his doing so does not operate so strongly in my mind as to make me think Lord Grenville may not have been unavoidably over-ruled in a measure not at all congenial to his own wishes or intentions ; this act I know is what most affects those who have so recently lost their places, and I imagine the present return of winter has made them feel out of office the sharp influence of that inclemency of political weather which the warmth of office protected them from. On the whole personal animosity should not regulate political conduct, it may to a degree influence the mind a little, and will do so, beyond that no credit will be gained by it. You will know what measures are likely to come on, and I shall be most anxious to hear your sentiments respecting them, and still more desirous to regulate mine accordingly. I know Lord Grenville's anxiety to preserve the good opinion of Mr. Pitt's friends, and possibly I may betray too great a degree of faith on this subject after what he has done, by giving too much credit to those professions and in supposing that under all circumstances he has now no other line to take, and that he looks forward to having those friends who must be his *really* ones(*sic*) again acting in strict concert and friendship with him. You shall hear from me whenever I feel that I can write anything worthy your attention, and I will always do so most openly and ingenuously, never disguising my sentiments, which may be the part of a politician, but is not the conduct of an honest man or a gentleman. I hear Reeves is to be displaced from the Alien Office, and Perry of the *Morning Chronicle* placed there. Lord Holland I fancy goes to Berlin, it was offered to Lord St. John, who refused. In all these touches we see the pencil of Fox, &c., and not a stroke of Grenville's brush, which ought in fact to cover the canvas. Why these things are so I know not. Time will develope these mysteries, violent opposition will not I think do so, perhaps exactly the contrary. I have bored you enough, my future reveries shall be shorter. I heard of Sheridan appearing before the Bank Directors to open his Navy office account, the joke is that they all ran out of the room carrying away their books and papers, &c.

[P.S.] I hear from Long to day that you do not mean to . . . . till after Easter. Have mercy upon the b——h foxes, I beseech you."

George Canning to Viscount Lowther.

1806, April 8th, Berkeley Square.—"After the communications with which I have been honoured by your Lordship of your opinions upon the state of things which have arisen in politics, and in Parliament since our irreparable loss at the beginning of the year, I feel it in some degree necessary, and I trust your Lordship will at least think it not impertinent in me, to trouble you with a very few lines upon the present occasion.

"The opening of Mr. Windham's military plan leaves us no longer in doubt that it is the intention of Government to do away with every vestige of Mr. Pitt's system upon that subject, particularly the volunteers, whom it must be the effect of the present measures to discontent, and in a great degree to disband, and still more directly the Additional Force Act, to which Mr. Pitt attached the greatest importance, and to substitute in its room projects, of which (to say the least) the practicability or advantage is very questionable, and perhaps the very experiment of them, in many views, highly inexpedient and hazardous.

"The points upon which—as I understood your Lordship's sentiments, and so far as I have been able to collect those of others of Mr. Pitt's friends—all persons of that description were agreed, were these—1st That whenever a direct attack should be made by the Government upon any system of Mr. Pitt's, resistance should be made to it in Parliament by all those who had looked up to him in his life time, and who considered the defence of his memory as a sacred duty. 2nd. That whenever the Government brought forward any measure of their own manifestly objectionable in principle or dangerous in practice, there should be no delicacy or difficulty about declaring an opinion in Parliament upon that particular measure, and that it would be highly desirable that Mr. Pitt's friends should on any such occasion act together upon an opinion common to them all.

It is the strong feeling and persuasion of those who have taken, or are likely to take part in the House of Commons, and of very many who have never yet shown themselves there, that the second of these cases does arise upon the military plan—that the first of them has arisen, is matter, not of opinion, but of fact.

I apprehend, therefore, that after the holidays an opportunity will be taken, probably not later than the 2nd reading of the Bill for repealing the Additional Force Act, to make a decided stand, and to take the sense of the House of Commons against this demolition of Mr. Pitt's favourite system, a demolition attempted at a moment when it is just beginning to realize his views, and without anything like an adequate substitution for the advantage which it promises to the country.

It is probable, that this struggle may take place on or about Monday the 21st instant.

I have thought it incumbent upon me to make this communication to your Lordship, and in consideration of your distance from town, to make it with as little delay as possible, but without in any degree presuming to anticipate your Lordship's judgment and determination."

William Wilberforce to Viscount Lowther.

1806 Wednesday, May 21st. House of Commons.

Most private.

Your Lordship will have the goodness to consider all this as strictly confidential.

"Every man is open to requests which he cannot well refuse, and which he yet feels a little awkward about granting. This reflection is called forth by a note which I have received this morning from Mr. Brougham, and which after a little consideration I take the liberty of transmitting to you. You probably know the family and character of Mr. Brougham, he is the son of a gentleman, as I have been, told of old family, the proprietor of a seat called Brougham Hall by the river near Penrith, who settled in Edinburgh many years ago, and marrying a near relation of Dr. Robertson the historian, has resided there ever

since, and has brought up this son at the Edinburgh University. The latter, the writer of the note, is about 25 or 26 years of age, and a man of very extraordinary talents and qualifications and knowledge for his time of life. He published about two years ago a work on Colonia policy of two vols. 8vo., and though there is much in it on which your Lordship I believe, as well as I myself should not agree with him, yet it is certainly for the years of the writer a wonderful publication. He has written also many of the best pieces in the *Edinburgh Review.* In Edinburgh I understand he was always regarded as the champion of Mr. Pitt's party against a numerous and active host of the partizans of the opposition in the University, and that he was regarded as *inter primos* appeared from his having been chosen as the commander of a large corps of volunteers to consist of the members of the University, which corps, owing to some misunderstanding with Lord Hobart, was never however accepted or embodied. He came up about two years ago to reside in London and entered himself of the Temple as a student of the Law, and having known Lord Henry Petty very well at Edinburgh, he has, I believe, renewed the acquaintance here. I wish (because I think I ought considering that you honoured me so kindly with your friendly regard and confidence) to tell you all I know or even think about him, and therefore I ought to add that I have heard from common fame that he is the author of a pamphlet lately published on the state of the Nation, and though the censures it passes on the late administration's conduct chiefly respect (I speak from having very hastily and cursorily run over it on its first coming out) the management of foreign (Continental) affairs, in the formation and carrying on of the late Confederacy, yet I cannot but say that the language in which it speaks is not such as one should have expected from any warm admirer of Mr. Pitt. I ought however to do Mr. Brougham the justice to say that having been a good deal abroad last summer but one, he became deeply impressed with a sense of the mismanagement of our affairs on the Continent, and spoke of several of our agents abroad in terms of strong censure. This general opinion was expressed in some letters I had from him myself, and which I shewed to Lord Harrowby then Secretary of State, who had given him very particular letters of recommendation.

I understand from some of his young friends who have belonged to a literary society with him, that he is an extremely good public speaker, and I have rather understood that he has for some time been desirous of coming into Parliament.

He was of material use in a matter in which I was much interested which gave him a claim to a return of civilities on my part, that is the reason of my troubling your Lordship with his note, and I thought that in justice to you I ought to accompany it with all the intelligence I could convey. You will allow for a letter written at the Committee table amid constant distraction of mind from my being obliged to attend to other business at the same time and while liable to incessant interruptions. Lord Muncaster has told me in confidence your Lordship's kind and liberal offer to him, and I think he has judged well in accepting it, if he was not absolutely resolved against entering again at all into public life. That circumstance of course in some degree may seem to supersede the necessity of putting the question to your Lordship. However lest I should seem to act ungratefully to Mr. Brougham in refusing such a request (for I undertake for no more than that) I think it best to transmit his note and you will I trust receive it with your accustomed kindness."

[P.S.]—"I ought to have said that our poor friend who is no more (who as you know as well as I, was unjust to himself by a failure in the common minor attentions of life) was not so civil as he ought to have been to Mr. Brougham, which though he never intimated anything of it to me, I rather suspect wounded his *amour propre*, he having been considered by his Edinburgh friends (some of whom came to reside in London at the same time, and were from the first opposition men) as the advocate of Pitt's party, and therefore being liable to the imputation of not being treated with respect by his own connections. I am quite ashamed of the length of my letter."

[*Enclosed with the above.*]

HENRY BROUGHAM, junior, to MR. WILBERFORCE.

—— Tuesday, —— Temple.—"You have of course heard of poor Sir M. le Flemming's death. I wish you would do me a favour by asking Lord Lowther the following question, either in writing or personally—'Supposing Government were to give their warmest and effectual support to a candidate, and that Lord Thanet were to lend his assistance with several others whose personal influence is considerable—and supposing that candidate were personally unobjectionable and a man attached to no party exclusively—would Lord Lowther lend his support to bring him in for Westmoreland, or, bringing in some friend of his own for the county, would he name the Government candidate for one of his boroughs?'

By obtaining an answer to this enquiry you would confer a great obligation on me, as well as on several other friends.

[P.S.]—Should you prefer transmitting the Query in another (manner?) you would confer an equal obligation by simply communicating this note to Lord Lowther."

VISCOUNT LOWTHER to MR. WILBERFORCE (*copy*).

1806, May 21st, Charles Street.—"Wishing on all occasions to give the fullest and kindest consideration to any matter in which you take an interest, I feel some concern that I am under the necessity of returning to you Mr. Brougham's note without answer or observation.

The subject he has thought proper to introduce to me through your intervention is one which under no circumstances, either from the respect due to the county of Westmoreland or with regard to my own interest in it, can I presume to discuss in the way he proposes."

W. WILBERFORCE to VISCOUNT LOWTHER.

1806, Thursday morning, May 22nd, Palace Yard.—"Excuse my troubling you for a few moments to assure you how much I respect the principles contained in the letter I have just received from you, and the spirit which it breathes. Were I less personally interested for your Lordship than I trust you give me credit for being, I should on public and general grounds rejoice that in your instance great power and influence were likely to be used as they ought to be in a free and enlightened country. So used, power is softened into influence, and while the sphere of influence is extended, it becomes a pleasure to be subject to its effects. Forgive this effusion," &c., &c.

JOHN STONARD to VISCOUNT LOWTHER.

1806, July 24th, Chertsey.—" I had begun an answer to your Lordship's former letter when I was favoured with that of the 19th instant. Henry has written to Charles Street, and if a place can be had in the mail he will set off on Friday, if not, on Saturday, for as I intend going to town with him, if he should not get a place on the former day, he shall sleep at the house of a friend of mine where I intend to be.

Last week I wrote to Lord Melville and directed the letter to Wimbledon, but his Lordship must then have been at Lowther, whither perhaps it has followed him. I will trouble your Lordship with a copy of the principal part of it, as I mentioned that I would do so in my last, though from the little consideration I have hitherto given to the subject, there can be little worthy of notice in it. I am still at a loss to know whether the Bishop of Lincoln has abandoned or perseveres in his design, though I am inclined to think from the steps your Lordship has taken with Lord Melville and Mr. Rose that at least you do not consider his approbation of my undertaking to be requisite. Yet since from his great intimacy with Mr. Pitt, and his office of executor, he must be in possession of many valuable documents and much interesting information, will it be more than politic, if not necessary, ceremony and attention to consult his opinion and request his consent ? If he should not persist in his intention of writing the life he will probably accommodate me with papers, which if he should refuse to do we may conclude that he has determined to proceed, and I suppose your Lordship will hardly wish me to write in opposition to the Bishop.

I am infinitely obliged to Mr. Rose for the generous confidence he would have reposed in me, and to your Lordship for what you must have said to induce that confidence. You will see my Lord from what I have said to Lord Melville that my sentiments upon the subject of delicate papers and transactions are entirely conformable with your own. In relating some events it may perhaps be desirable to trace with some minuteness the secret motives and views of the actors. But still generosity and honour are not to be sacrificed to any consideration, nor can it be wished that the just fame of Mr. Pitt himself should be promoted by a breach of that confidence and delicacy, without which any more than without truth, no private intercourse can subsist between men. Mr. Rose therefore and every other friend of Mr. Pitt, who may indulge me with the loan of private and confidential papers, may be assured that not the least use shall be made of them which either their prudence or honour may forbid. It will certainly be highly desirable to talk the matter over with Mr. Rose on many accounts. His great intimacy with Mr. Pitt, together with his long experience and extensive knowledge of affairs, have given him such a clear and full sight and comprehension of the subject as few others can have attained, and he may also direct me in the readiest way to the acquisition of such materials as he may not himself be possessed of.

A life of Mr. Pitt, it appears to me, should exhibit to the world a full delineation of his character and conduct, both in his political station and private life, equally amiable in the one as great in the other. As a man he has been so much less known than as a statesman, that every information and anecdote that can be collected as to his manners, habits, temper, and opinions on literature, philosophy, and religion, will be not less interesting than they are likely to prove entertaining and instructive. General readers are likely to be most attracted by this part of the work, and they will the more readily admit the claims of splendid talents and

illustrious actions, the more sensibly they feel the force of private virtue. They like also to enter into the closets of the great. They hope to see them there divested of extrinsic honours, beings of a less elevated caste and order, accessible and tangible to men of meaner mould. Besides, the fine and exquisite touches of character, which as your Lordship well knows, are lost in the rude bustle of public affairs display themselves to the eye of friendship and tenderness in the hour of domestic retirement and social converse.

Let me however assure you my Lord that I am not like some late biographers, so maddened with the love of anecdote as to be desirous of "drawing from their dread abode" every little flaw and frailty that may have been discernible in the character of the mighty dead. To friends indeed such disclosures may be made without danger, but it would ill become those who revere the memory of Mr. Pitt to hold up the little specks of mortal imperfection to the curiosity and scorn of enemies who seem not to have enough of humanity to recognise even the failings of man. But the private life of Mr. Pitt is not likely to have contained any undue proportion of the alloy of human weakness. Here therefore he may appear divested of his greatness and descended from his elevation without any injury to his fame. A monotonous and affected gravity of deportment may be necessary to support the vain formality of stately dulness, which when it once sinks rises no more, but the lively sallies and the sportive mirth of genius may be pursued and may be related with no other effect than to heighten by their contrast the dignity of its more serious occupations.

Through the interest of my friend the Dean of Chester I have a promise from Mrs. Wilson of some very interesting materials for the history of his most early years, till he went to the University. Much probably may be obtained from his college associates for the time between that period and his first appearance as a public character, while for the relaxations and amusements of his later years, the public must be indebted to your Lordship and other friends who were the chosen companions of his leisure hours.

But the life of Mr. Pitt, consecrated as it was to the good of his country and consolidated with the national history, may be collected in some degree from public journals, parliamentary debates, and other printed sources of information, to the best and most authentic of which I would solicit your Lordship's goodness to direct my attention. From these however the public gain little more than a knowledge of events, the mere consequences of counsels. The motives whence those counsels spring, the reasons on which they are founded, the facilities that may invite to their adoption and the difficulties that may impede their execution, are for the most part unknown to the world, and therefore the general judgment formed of them must often be inadequate to their merits. There are many circumstances too I am aware that act with considerable effect on the minds and on the conduct of statesmen. The nature of the intercourse they maintain with their prince, with foreign ministers, and with one another, their various characters, and their mutual opinions of each other, their different political principles, connections and dependences, their inclinations and aversions, suspicions and jealousies, are necessary to be known previous to the attainment of a full and perfect comprehension of political measures and events. But these are points of high delicacy and secrecy, which the respect justly due to persons of high station and great virtues will in many cases prevent from being disclosed for at least a number of years, if ever. Much of this, I presume, my Lord, you will find applicable to yourself. The

high stations you have held and the unreserved communications you must have had with the King, with your late lamented friend, and other persons of high rank, have doubtless rendered you party and privy to many designs and to many affairs and master of many secret springs of actions, which though they might tend to elucidate the history of Mr. Pitt's administration yet cannot be made public without violating some of the best principles of the mind and best feelings of the heart.

But without the least wish to publish what may be so prudently and honourably concealed the writer of Mr. Pitt's life will indulge the hope of receiving from your Lordship in consideration of your known friendship for that greatest of statesmen, whatever may tend to a full development of his political principles, views, and measures, with whatever may help to explain the characters of his friends and of his adversaries, together with his own private opinion of them and of their proceedings, as far as may be thought consistent with the dictates of justice, honour, and generosity. Perhaps, too, he will be bold enough to expect that communications may he made to him that must be withheld from the world; and that not from a motive of vain curiosity, but because he must collect from particular details what he is to give to the public in general terms, and because in order to convey to his readers that degree of satisfaction which it is desirable they should feel, he ought to write with that vigour and decision which can arise from nothing but full conviction in himself.

The matchless powers of Mr. Pitt's eloquence, the support which in the most trying circumstances he often derived and the ascendency in parliament which he acquired from its exertions, as well as the impulse which he thereby gave to the public mind, form a part of his history which the author will be expected to distinguish by a double portion of spirit and accuracy. But it is to be feared however it may be admired, that those stupendous efforts of oratory which 'fulmined' over Europe were perfectly extemporaneous and that what he orally delivered he had never previously committed to writing. Still it is to be hoped that in addition to what may be collected from Parliamentary debates, his friends have preserved in notes some valuable fragments of his noblest speeches, perhaps corrected by himself, part of which possibly your Lordship may have in your possession, and to others may have access. These will be of the highest consequence in taking a critical view of his eloquence and will impart immense value to the work, whether dispersed in proper order through its pages or collected in an appendix at the end.

I do not conceive it possible to submit to your Lordship at present any sketch of the arrangement that must be adopted in this important work. The mode of digesting it by annals or sessions of parliament is indeed easy but dry and uninteresting in the extreme, and the mind of the reader would find it rather a series of annual histories than one continuous whole. Yet a certain *lucidus ordo* must be established and observed, and this is likely to be best attained by fixing on proper epochs for the grand and subordinate divisions of the subject, each of which should comprise the narrative of some considerable event or some great design with the accessory concomitant and consequential circumstances. Some difficulty may be found in determining these points, and considerable variations in the mode of arrangement may be admitted with advantage to the book. But I do not see that anything of this nature can be resolved upon till the materials have been accurately examined and a comprehensive view taken of the whole.

The extent of the work is an object of serious consideration. The most active of lives spent in the most active of stations, in circumstances and times of the greatest variety, importance, and danger, cannot be comprised in a small compass. But as the work is intended to be not a record laid up in dusty archives, but a history to be read, care must be taken that it be not oppressed by its own weight. Mr. Coxe has filled three quarto volumes with his life of Sir Robert Walpole, and it should seem hardly possible to contract that of Mr. Pitt within the limits of four, but should it exceed four, its bulk and its price together will prevent its being generally read. Hence will arise the necessity of exercising a certain rigour in the admission of historical details. It must be remembered that the public are to expect a life of Mr. Pitt, not a history of his times, and therefore while nothing should be excluded that can give light or interest to the subject, nothing should be allowed a place that does not tend to the exaltation of Mr. Pitt's character, to the development of his motives and counsels, the vindication of his measures or the establishment of truth.

A life of Mr. Pitt published under the sanction of his friends, the world will expect to find written in the spirit of zealous attachment to his memory. The warmest and highest expressions of praise and admiration, as every day more clearly shews, will not be so much endured as demanded by the public sentiment itself. At the same time all appearance of the *partium judicem* must be carefully kept down. The suspicion of its being written with party views would turn the tide of prejudice against the work, and would prevent its descending with credit to posterity. Of Mr. Pitt's opponents indeed and of their mode of opposition the honourable calls of truth and justice will require the author to speak with openness and manly decision, but though he may find it difficult to avoid the severe language prompted by indignation he must refrain from all expressions that may be supposed to indicate personal or political malevolence. Long, indeed, ere the publication of the intended life, the great probability seems to be that Mr. Pitt's chief antagonist will be also called to give in a longer account of time far differently spent, and talents far differently employed. That difference will be seen and felt though charity will not dwell upon it.

It can hardly be till after much consideration and many efforts that the author will be able to satisfy himself as to the proper style of his work. But since his object should be to present to the public a portrait of Mr. Pitt, he must be careful not to obscure the features by too gaudy a dress. He must therefore studiously avoid all inflated and affected writing, all incumbrance of ornament and strained attempts at elegance. If he regard the style of them whose eloquence he is to record, he will be correct without elaboration, perspicuous without diffusiveness and nervous without asperity, and if he suffer his feelings to direct his pen, he cannot on suitable occasions fail of attaining grandeur and sublimity.

The above contains everything material in the letter I have addressed to Lord Melville. Your Lordship will see that I have spoken my sentiments freely and at some length on the points that have occurred to me, and though I have not detailed anything that can be called a plan or even a sketch, yet I hope I have expressed with sufficient clearness my general, but very crude and imperfect, ideas of what the life should be, of the materials that may [be] necessary for the undertaking, and of the use that will be made of them. If what I have said be in any

degree satisfactory to your Lordship and Lord Melville, it will make me very happy. But I shall be still better pleased to receive from both such suggestions as may turn my mind to those parts of the subject towards which it has not been at all or not sufficiently directed. I have doubtless omitted many important considerations and in particular it has occurred to me that it will be an object of the greatest consequence to detail with all the accuracy and clearness possible the state of the country at the period when the reins of government were happily confided to the hands of Mr. Pitt."

Viscount Melville to Viscount Lowther.

[1806], July 25th, Raehills.—"I received the enclosed at Featherstone and send the perusal of it to your Lordship as the best mode of conveying to you the extent of the difficulties which Mr. Stonard perceives in the execution of the work which his friends are desirous he should undertake. I confess I have always felt the same difficulties as often as I have revolved the subject in my mind, and the letter tends strongly to confirm the doubts I have always entertained as to the possibility of writing such a comprehensive view of Mr. Pitt's life as the world would wish to see before a very considerable time shall elapse. Such a history of his life must in truth be the history of the times in which he lived, and I don't see it possible to execute such a work with any degree of authenticated materials so long as the King lives, and there may be even difficulties existing after that period, if the present apparent heir of the Crown should live to occupy it. To write a mere biography of the education or anecdotes of his early life would be uninteresting and much beneath the dignity of the subject, and besides his public exertions burst forth at so early a period of life little time was left for any other, and in fact except the short intervals of relaxation which he passed among his friends, there was not a day of his life from his first entering into the bustle of the world that was not devoted to the service of his country. I don't recollect amidst the many years in which we lived almost unremittingly together that I ever had a walk or a ride with him that a very considerable part of the time was not occupied in discussions of a public concern, and for the same reason it is that most of the most useful knowledge I possess of his sentiments either as to men or measures does not exist in any written documents, but rests upon my memory and recollection, and must die with myself. What I do possess I shall certainly at my leisure endeavour to collect together, and so far as may be proper leave behind me for future use, but I am positive that even of that a great portion cannot now or perhaps ever be brought before the public, without disclosures of which if alive he would disapprove, and of course a similar restraint must impose itself on those to whom his memory is dear. The result of what I have observed is an opinion that any such history of his life in general as the eager curiosity of the public might wish to peruse cannot with propriety be undertaken at the present moment. There is one view of his conduct as a public man which I think may and ought to be given in order to impress and keep alive on the memory of the present age some of the leading important transactions of his administration. For example, his struggle to preserve the constitution at the time he came first into power, particularly in the contest respecting the India Bill, in which it could be shown that India was completely redeemed from the ruin which was represented as impending over its affairs without having recourse to the violent extremities which his opponents and rivals at

that time proposed. A second topic would be his immediate attention to the distracted state of the revenues of the country in which the measure of the sinking fund and its various improvements and consequences could be detailed. Thirdly, the interposition in favour of Holland, the benefits of which to that country were only lost by their folly and supineness in not effectually resisting in conjunction with this country the tyranny and encroaching revolutionary principles of France. Fourthly, the Commercial Treaty with France. Fifthly, the maintenance of the national pride and honour of the country in the contest with Spain respecting Nootka Sound. Sixthly, the noble support given to the constitution and the sovereignty during the King's illness, and all the questions respecting the Regency. Seventhly, the vigour of his exertions which became unremittingly necessary for a tract of years to save the constitution of this country from the revolutionary principles of France. Eighthly, although the last years of his life and administration was a state of war and adverse to the prosperity of the various wise pacific measures with which his public life began, these wars were not of his seeking, they were inevitable and in fact a state of war was perhaps the only one in which it would have been practicable to have adopted the measures necessary for the preservation of the constitution and the internal peace of Great Britain. If other nations failed in preserving the security of their own kingdoms it was owing to their own jealousies, supineness, and imbecility, and not to the want of a powerful support from this country. Our own separate interests never suffered by the wars in which we became necessarily involved, but on the contrary were prosperous and successful in every quarter of the world.

Each of those heads I have alluded to would branch out into various other topics connected with them, and even the general heads I have enumerated would admit of extensive additions. I have only thought it necessary to specify those in illustration of the idea I mean to convey, and your Lordship will observe that a sketch of Mr. Pitt's public life, in which all those topics and eminent services might be detailed with ability and brilliancy, could be compiled without increasing in any material degree the difficulties stated in Mr. Stonard's letter, and in which I have stated that I perfectly participate. They are all public transactions resting on public documents upon which the most forcible and striking features of his public character and the vigour of his mind could be portrayed, and by a connected view of the whole collected together, a just though not an adequate representation of his public services could be given, even to the present age, and tend to keep alive in their memories that veneration for him and the deep sorrow for his loss, which in some of us can only end with our lives.

I should apologize for troubling your Lordship with so long a letter but I have been led into the intrusion by my anxiety to impress upon you what my genuine sentiments are, and which I shall trust to your goodness to convey to Mr. Stonard, as it is unnecessary to trouble him with a similar detail. At your leisure return to me his letter which I have sent under a separate cover. I leave this to-morrow for Melville Castle, and after a few days' residence in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, I shall proceed to the Highlands."

JOHN STONARD to VISCOUNT LOWTHER.

1806, August 28th, Hodnet Hall, Shrewsbury.—"Your letter reached me at this place three days ago. It was not my intention originally to remain so long a time here, but the wishes of my friends who are

rather numerous in the neighbouring county of Chester have induced me to prolong my stay. Next week I shall certainly return home, but as I have some business awaiting me in town I shall not be ready to receive Henry till the close of the week following. I hope this will not be inconvenient to your Lordship or injurious to Henry as he has the benefit of Mr. Brown's instructions.

I had not an opportunity of meeting the Bishop of London before my journey to this place or I would have asked him what he knew of the Bishop of Lincoln's intentions. Heber and myself have conversed upon the subject and are disposed to conclude that it will be the best way to suspend all inquiries as to his Lordship's views. If he is really employed in writing he will doubtless be as speedy as possible and will endeavour to silence all competition by communicating his intentions to the public. If not, I have little doubt that I shall be able to learn the truth from the Bishop of London in the course of the winter. If his friend is writing, he is likely to be wary and circumspect on the subject, if not he will probably be open and unreserved.

As I am on the point of setting off for Chester, your Lordship I hope will excuse an abrupt conclusion."

"Negociations with the Grenville Party, 1806."

Earl Bathurst to Viscount Lowther.

1806, June 11th.—"I wrote a note to Lord Grenville as soon as I left you, and he desired me to call at four o'clock: On my return from thence I called on you and was very sorry I missed seeing you. He expressed himself very particularly gratified with my intention of *not opposing* this measure, and the ground on which I told him I could alone assign for so doing: viz., my personal good will towards him.

We had some general conversation, in which he wished to impress me with an idea that he was fully convinced of Mr. Fox's sincerity of good faith, as far at least as Mr. Fox was personally concerned, at the same time expressing a very great desire of seeing more of, and having more communication with, Mr. Pitt's friends, who are not embarked in opposition. He told me, and as I understood him not as a secret, that there was no intention, and never was an intention, of an India Bill."

George Rose to Viscount Lowther.

1806, June 15th, Old Palace Yard.—"The communication you had the kindness to make to me yesterday gave me (as I expressed to you) much concern at the moment, which has not lessened on reflection; and as the subject is deeply interesting to my feelings I trust I shall have your excuse for troubling you with some observations upon it: I am the more desirous of doing so as I have a real anxiety to stand well in the judgment of one so valued by Mr. Pitt as your Lordship was. You know my Lord, as well as any one, the rule of conduct I prescribed to myself on Mr. Pitt's death—left by that deeply lamented event, as much alone in the political world as ever a human being was, I determined to act as I thought Mr. Pitt would have wished me to do if he had been living in a state to prevent his mixing in public affairs.

After his loss I looked to Lord Grenville as the person on whom the King and the country could more safely rest their hope; under a persuasion that if His Majesty should place him at the head of his

councils, we should have the fairest prospect of good measures being adopted, and of any that could have a mischievous tendency being avoided. With that impression strong on my mind I gave assurances both publicly and privately of high personal respect for Lord Grenville.

Having prescribed to myself the line of conduct, and entertaining the opinion above mentioned, I certainly cannot feel very comfortable in having it imputed to me that I am actively resisting a measure that Mr. Pitt would have seen the necessity for and would himself have brought forward if he had been living. The matters cannot have been properly explained to Lord Grenville: I oppose the West India Commissioners' Bill because I know Mr. Pitt would not have taken the same course; I am perfectly sure he would not: I say that confidently because his measure for discovering and punishing abuses in the West Indies originated with me; and the whole subject respecting public accountants was discussed by us at Cuffnells so lately as in September last, when further measures were agreed on, not similar exactly to those now coming forward: his decided opinion, as well as mine, was that frauds and all breaches of trust committed in the West Indies could only be detected effectually there; and that any proceeding here (which in most instances could be little more than formal) might be conducted by the Commissioners for auditing the public accounts, whose number he had recently increased and is now about to be further augmented. With that view of the subject, his Act was passed in 1801 *for sending Commissioners to the Islands*, followed by another in 1802 to enable the trying persons here for offences committed out of Great Britain. The latter was defective in provision not having been made in it for punishing perjury here that was committed abroad; for which a remedy might have been provided in a single clause in a Bill to *continue* Mr. Pitt's Act: Instead of that however a new Bill was pompously introduced by Lord Henry Petty to *repeal* the former one, with pointed remarks on the inefficiency of that: In the Preamble of his Lordship's are two offensive recitals founded on those remarks, but not a new power in it of the smallest importance for detecting and punishing frauds: On the contrary, instead of providing that a certain number of Commissioners *shall be appointed to go to the West Indies*, the new Bill enacts that a Board of five Commissioners *here* shall be named: who *may* with the consent of the Treasury send out two of their number—three of course always to remain at home, to do what may be done just as expeditiously and effectually by the auditors in Somerset Place, especially with the additions lately made to their strength, with the further intended increase before mentioned, whose ultimate fiat is rendered necessary by this Bill as well as by Mr. Pitt's, notwithstanding one of the recitals alluded to.

In addition to these reasons I will fairly own that connecting this measure with the more general one of Lord Henry Petty for auditing the public accounts (as applauded in a most marked manner by Mr. Wickham on his first attendance for some months) with remarks imputing very culpable negligence to the former Government and conveying strong insinuations of losses sustained by the public therefrom, I felt some anxiety to prevent the House being misled by specious statements, and to protect the memory of Mr. Pitt from suffering in the public estimation. Your Lordship is I know aware how extensively, in consequence of Lord Henry's speech, an opinion prevailed of the injury that had been sustained by gross neglect, (if nothing worse) of Mr. Pitt, as well as of the hopes that were raised from the promised activity of his Lordship; and I am confident *you* will not blame my conduct in attempting to put the matter in a true point of view.

It is not however merely of repeated attacks on Mr. Pitt's memory, and of insinuations unfavourable to it, that I have to complain ; it is really impossible for any one not present at the discussions to conceive the want of information of the Chancellor of the Exchequer on subjects he brings forward; he insisted on Friday night, in which he was strenuously supported by Mr. Wickham, that the accounts of the Commissary General in the West Indies were retarded by the Bank account not having been brought forward, with which they have no more to do than with the Archbishop of Canterbury's private account, except the drafts being examined as vouchers for the payments made.

Another Bill is now depending in the House of Commons to do away in effect all that I was labouring to accomplish during the whole time I was Vice-President of the Committee for Trade, with Mr. Pitt's entire approbation, and for the success of which he was more than ordinarily solicitous: And there is a third lately sent up to the House of Lords which will undoubtedly be attended with mischievous consequences ; neither of these two called for from any quarter though the first is now sanctioned by the West India Planters ; not one of whom has a greater interest in those colonies proportioned to their whole property than myself and my son, and indeed almost all my nearest connections. Can it therefore my dear Lord be justly imputed to me by any one that I am acting inconsistently with the professions of respect I made for Lord Grenville. I am sure I need not ask you whether I am acting inconsistently with the reverence I have for the memory of our late invaluable friend. Nothing has occurred to abate my respect for Lord Grenville ; in professing which, when I did it, no selfish motive could possibly be suspected, accompanied as it was by a letter I wrote to his Lordship on his coming into office. I have not the remotest ground of complaint of any sort against his Lordship ; I attributed to Lord Henry Petty and to one or two persons about him the sort of attacks that have been made from time to time on Mr. Pitt's measures, which I have endeavoured earnestly though feebly to vindicate.

There are other matters that I should have been desirous of referring to, but this letter is already a much longer one than I meant it should have been when I began it, I could not however compress more narrowly what I wished to put you in possession of clearly and distinctly. Having done that, if an opportunity should offer of your Lordship vindicating me on any future occasion I am satisfied I may safely rely on your good nature for your doing so."

Lord Grenville to Viscount Lowther.

1806, June 16, Downing Street.—"I am much obliged to you for the communication of Mr. Rose's letter and if my view of what has passed does not entirely coincide with that in which he sees it, I am at least gratified by the obliging solicitude he expresses on the subject. I have not the smallest claim upon him to act or speak otherwise than as his own mind shall suggest to him. I felt much satisfaction (at the outset of the Government) from the favourable disposition he expressed, and from the grounds on which he rested that disposition. If our measures, and particularly those more immediately under my own direction, have since altered that disposition I may regret the change but I have no right to complain of it.

It would however be unjust to Lord Henry Petty to leave him charged with faults which, if they are such, belong to me nor would

it be just to myself to let any of my friends believe that any attack has been intended (or as I think made) against the memory of my oldest and dearest friend.

What would have been Mr. Pitt's measures on the subject it is difficult to discuss, and I can only conjecture them from knowing what their principle would have been. He would most assuredly have done what I have done, that is, have adopted those measures which appeared to him most effectual for pursuing the investigation of abuses and securing the speedy liquidation of public accounts, both of them objects which he had peculiarly at heart.

That the preamble of the West India Bill can be considered injurious to him or his measures, I know not how to conceive. That it was not so intended I have the best reason to know, having drawn it myself, and drawn it as far as I can recollect in the same words in which he and I together have drawn I dare say not less than an hundred preambles to Bills for giving farther efficacy to our own measures.

So as to *repealing* his Bill—when fresh regulations are to be made on any subject it is often more convenient to consolidate the whole into a new Bill than to superadd new matter to the existing law. In all other respects than those of convenience it seems to me perfectly indifferent which is done, and he and I have repeatedly done both in the case of our own measures, sometimes by choice and sometimes by accident.

But can any friend of his believe that if he were now alive he would wish his successors, especially those whom he loved and esteemed to refrain from doing in their time what he had done in his, and following up to the best of their judgment those objects which he partly provided for, but did not live to accomplish.

As to the expediency of the particular regulations proposed in this case opinions may differ. It is even possible (though I think very improbable) that his opinion and mine might have differed. It is more probable that they might have done so on the other questions to which Mr. Rose adverts, those of West India trade, because on that subject there always was between us a shade of difference in our general systems, which we have frequently and confidentially discussed.

But surely there is nothing in any one or all these points which could naturally have led me to expect from any persons whose dispositions had continued favourable to me, an opposition carrying with it so many indications of the most decided hostility.

One word more I must add on the subject of Mr. Wickham, a gentleman well known to be connected with me in a situation of the most intimate confidence, and in habits of very early friendship, and whose conduct in Parliament can not well be assigned as the *cause* of any thing that has passed, since he never has appeared there this session (but once in support of Lord Wellesley) till he was in his absence brought forward by name into public notice, in a manner that seemed to call upon him indispensably to defend himself, and in that defence to defend both Mr. Pitt and me.

You have seen how much trouble you have brought upon yourself by your kindness and friendship towards me. I never meant to complain of a conduct which I had no right to control, and even now if I have entered so much into the subject it has been partly in the hope of satisfying you that the view I had taken of what has passed was neither unfounded nor captious; but much more in order to vindicate myself from an imputation cast on measures which are entirely and

immediately my own, and for which I trust Mr. Rose himself will no longer think there is any foundation, that of their being either in intention or in effect contrary to the system which I have uniformly pursued both in public and in private with respect to the character of a person whose memory is naturally as dear to me as it can be to any man now living."

Viscount Lowther to Lord Grenville (*Copy*).

1806, June 17th, Charles Street.—"Could I have foreseen the trouble I have occasioned you I should scarcely have ventured to send you Mr. Rose's letter, with the hope, however, that you will forgive this intrusion, I beg to thank you for your kind attention and at the same time to assure you that if Mr. Rose has misconceived Lord Henry Petty's statement either as to the manner or the matter of it, that misconception was not peculiar to himself but was felt I believe by every person who heard him, and has been felt also in the most remote parts of the Kingdom. You will not infer from this that I have the smallest intention of imputing to you the knowledge that any expressions having a tendency to depreciate the character of Mr. Pitt were ever employed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but I am satisfied you would have heard them with the same impression they have excited in others who are not disposed to contend with you in anything but in their love and admiration of that much lamented person.

Of Mr. Wickham I have not the slightest knowledge, but I will not disguise from you that he is not considered by those of Mr. Pitt's friends with whom I am most acquainted as particularly inclined to indulge a very favourable consideration of Mr. Pitt's character. With what motive this is conjectured, I really have not the slightest reason to know, having never till within the last few days heard his name mentioned; but as it has been introduced, I should have thought it unfair to you to have withheld from you what I am sorry to find is a prevailing opinion with many persons who stand high in your regard."

George Rose to Viscount Lowther.

1806, June 26th.—"The accompanying letter was meant to have been left at your house yesterday in the afternoon, in the event of the American Intercourse Bill coming on.

I am sure Lord Grenville must be ignorant of Mr. Wickham saying within two or three weeks after Mr. Pitt's death (in the House of Commons) 'he did not think human credulity could go the length of leading ministers to believe the Austrians could bring forward such a force as Mr. Pitt justified his continental measures upon' and of that gentleman *loudly* applauding Lord Henry Petty's direct suggestions of neglect and gross inattention on the part of Mr. Pitt. I am sure the friends of the latter will think the vindication of his measures may be in better hands than Mr. Wickham's."

Charles Long to Viscount Lowther.

1806, July 19th, Bromley Hill.—"If any thing at all interesting had passed and had come to my knowledge you should have heard from me before but as little of any thing of this kind has come to Bromley Hill as to Lowther, and I have very little indeed worth communicating, and a long letter from Lord Essex, who you know is the Prince of Gossips,

does not contain a report except that Mrs. Fitzherbert has renounced the errors of Popery and eats meagre no more.

I hear from better authority however that peace is not nearer than when you left us, and ministers complain that upon more than one point Bonaparte after bringing things near to a conclusion changed his mind suddenly. It is said, and I believe with truth, that he insists upon our assent to the sovereignty of Holland being recognised by us in the person of his brother Louis, and that of Naples and Sicily in the person of his brother Joseph, and he is willing upon that to leave us in possession of Malta and the Cape and restore Hanover, he has also I hear talked of our guaranteeing to him, Holland and Naples and Sicily, the latter of which he insists upon if we are to retain Malta, and upon this latter point it is supposed all the demur has taken place, still I think we shall have peace because I believe both parties are anxious to conclude it. Fox has on some days been free from pain, but from what I hear he is not materially better.

The Report respecting the Princess was made to the King on Sunday they are much puzzled what to do in it, the principal evidence is that of Lady Douglas, and from what I hear I believe it is the only one of consequence. I shall write to you whenever I hear any thing more precise upon any of these, or upon any other, points that may interest you."

George Rose to Viscount Lowther.

1806, July 23rd, Old Palace Yard.—" I am unwilling to leave London without writing a line to you although I have really nothing interesting to tell you.

You will receive by this post my pamphlet, which records the state of the country when Mr. Pitt came into office, and when this country and the world had the misfortune to lose him; exhibiting the wonderful increase of our commerce, navigation and revenues under his fostering care; in that view the publication is an important one, and should induce future ministers not rashly to pull down the fabric raised by that great man.

I hear of no charges, except Mr. King quitting the Secretaryship of the Treasury, to be succeeded by Mr. Fremantle, Deputy Teller of the Exchequer under the Marquis of Buckingham; a gentlemanlike man but as new to business as a child.

Respecting a dissolution of Parliament I can form no probable conjecture: I am persuaded no decision is yet taken about it, and the inclination of my opinion *now* is that we shall not be turned adrift.

Of Mr. Fox's health I know nothing with any degree of certainty; but I continue to believe he will never be in business again. I do not indeed meet with anybody who thinks he will."

Earl Camden to Viscount Lowther.

1806, July 23rd, Arlington Street.—" I am here in my way into Wales and set out to-day. The intelligence I have learnt is that Fox is certainly worse, that his ever appearing again as a public man in Parliament is quite out of the question and that it is probably a question of how many months he may live. There has not been the slightest allusion to any wish on Lord Grenville's part to have any union with Mr. Pitt's friends, and I thought from the tone taken on Lord Melville's motion it did not appear likely that there would.

It is imagined that peace is probable, and that the messenger who arrived yesterday, and in consequence of which the prorogation of Parliament was delayed, brought a more peaceful answer from France than has yet been received.

I shall return into this part of the world in about two months."

Lord Grenville to Viscount Lowther.

1806, July 23rd, Downing Street.—"I am very sorry that I have been deprived, by your absence from town, of the pleasure of seeing you, as I wished to converse with you again on the subject of the expected vacancy for Lancaster. I find from Lord Douglas that he does not wish to engage himself or Duke Hamilton in any contest there, and that he would, if I understood him right, prefer supporting any proper candidate whom you would recommend so that there might be no danger of seeing that place represented by any person whose character or political principle might be adverse to both your wishes. I feel that in such a case, especially when I am speaking the sentiments of another person, there is some awkwardness in writing, and that a few minutes' conversation might have arranged with great facility what cannot so well be settled or even stated by letter. But if you would have the goodness to mention to me anybody that you think might be a proper candidate on such an occasion, and who would be willing and able to meet the possible expence of a contest, (which however I trust would not be likely to take place) I feel little doubt that Lord Douglas would be disposed to assist him with his interest; and I am very anxious that the matter should be so settled before the vacancy takes place as that the choice may fall upon a person agreeable to you."

Charles Long to Viscount Lowther.

1806, August 5th, Bromley Hill.—"It is generally understood that Lord Lauderdale has a few unsettled points to determine and is then to sign the peace, but it is still possible that Bonaparte may again change his mind and undo all that he appears to have agreed to during the negotiation. There is another circumstance which may avert from us a most disadvantageous peace, which is that since Fox has become worse he has made over to Grenville all his papers and has put the state and conduct of the negotiation entirely into his hands—at Paris I know they look upon peace as certain and conceive that Bonaparte is to dictate it. General Abercrombie who is just come from thence says nobody entertains a doubt of it being concluded—and a letter I saw written from thence yesterday mentions Bonaparte as having said that he should celebrate at the same time (in September) the victory of Austerlitz and the peace with England.

The account of Fox in London yesterday was that he had increased in size and had become more lethargic—and that the operation of tapping was to be performed tomorrow. Vaughan I hear despairs, but Pitcairn thinks rather better of his case.

If we have peace of course a dissolution of Parliament will follow; if not the present determination I have reason to think is not to dissolve—and yet without it or without some new arrangement the Treasury Bench will not be the pleasantest seat in the House of Commons next year.

The Report of the Privy Council respecting the Princess, it is now said is not to be made public. The story of her having had a child is

now disbelieved even by the Prince's friends and the real father and mother (poor peasants near Blackheath) have been ascertained. The report contains evidence of many acts of indiscretion and levity (perhaps not unfounded); but the lady's answer I understand to all this is that these things are told by persons who had a personal prejudice against her—and that their evidence (and particularly that of Lady Douglas) is the effect of resentment.

The *Committee of Taste* are called upon to prepare inscriptions for the different public monuments which have been or are to be erected. Perhaps Mr. Stonard or some of your friends would give us one for that of our much lamented friend.

I know not whether our news at Bromley Hill is likely to be more authentic than yours at Lowther, but if I hear of anything worth your knowing, from being nearer the scene of action, you shall hear from me."

Lord Grenville to Viscount Lowther.

1806, August 5th, Downing Street.—"I am very sorry to hear that Mr. Morritt has declined offering himself for Lancaster on the expected vacancy. He would have been I think in every respect a most unexceptionable candidate. If any other person occurs to you I will thank you to let me know it, and in the mean time whenever I see Lord Douglas I will endeavour to persuade him to let the matter rest till a proper candidate has been found."

Viscount Melville to Viscount Lowther.

1806, August 17th, Dunira.—"I have received your Lordship's stating the anecdote respecting our political Chief Justice. It is certainly a very striking one unless he can give a satisfactory explanation of it. The more one thinks of it, the more astonished must he be at the absurdity and impropriety of placing Lord Ellenborough in the Cabinet. If it had even been customary to admit other Chief Justices into the Cabinet, the character, temper, and vulgarity, of his Lordship would have afforded good reason for making him an exception from a general rule, but to select a person for the situation against whom there lay so many objections is quite inexplicable.

It cost me a week's time to get from my friends in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh. I have now been here near a fourth night (*sic*), enjoying good health, good weather and good sport, of this last I take a moderate share, but my son and his friends who have encamped on the hills have been very successful, and the weather highly favourable. I hope you have been enjoying yourself in the same way."

Charles Long to Viscount Lowther.

1806, August 24th, Bromley Hill.—"The negotiation is not at an end though the alarm of peace has nearly subsided. Lord Auckland who called here yesterday and who affects to be in the secret tells me that Bonaparte totally changed his mind and receded from his own propositions after he had concluded his peace with Russia—and that Lauderdale had been hitherto trying in vain to bring him back to his original proposals—and yet it is said that no pains were taken to prevent the Russians concluding their separate peace. I hear also from Lord Auckland that though Fox is much better than was expected after the opera-

tion, that it is not thought he can again ever venture upon active business, and he intimated that it would be necessary (and that Lord Grenville he had reason to think was satisfied of the necessity) to make proposals to some of the present opposition to strengthen the ranks of Government in the House of Commons in the next session, but as I thought all this was mentioned rather to hear what I had to say than to give me any information, I leave you to put your own construction upon it.

It is generally understood that the Report respecting the Princess is not to be made public—the rumour of her having had a child is totally discredited, but the commissioners after stating the evidence speak of the *irregularity and indecency* of her conduct. These are hard words and I should think she will hardly remain quiet under such a charge unless she has given ground for it.

Lauderdale is supposed to have left Paris yesterday, but the gentlemen at Lloyd's, I hear, take odds that Bonaparte sends for him back before he embarks."

Lord Grenville to Viscount Lowther.

1806, September 9th, Downing Street.—"I am very much obliged to you for your letter of the 3rd inst. I fear from the statement which it contains that there is not much hope of procuring a candidate such as would have been to be wished, both for the interest of Government and for the credit of the place.

I should be very much obliged to you for your advice what in these circumstances it might be best to do. Whether the thing must be left to its own course or whether there would be any chance of success for any person of commercial connections either in London or Liverpool supposing any such could be found, who would be disposed to incur the expense of an election now, on any engagement to receive the same support on a dissolution.

I have no particular person of this description in my view, but if you think it worth trying possibly such a person might be found."

Charles Long to Viscount Lowther.

1806, September 22nd, Bromley Hill.—"I thought it possible that Fox's death might have changed Lord Grenville's dispositions, and that some overture might have been made to form the administration upon a more extended basis—but I believe no such intention exists, and I just hear that Lord Howick is certainly to be the successor of Mr. Fox at the Foreign Office—and that this is fixed after some attempt on the part of Lord Grenville to appoint his brother. Lord Spencer it is supposed goes to the Admiralty, and T. Grenville to the Home Department. During Fox's illness Lord Grenville I understand communicated through the same channel, and to the same person from whom you before heard of the communication, a readiness to extend the offer which had been before made; but the proposal seemed, as I understood it, to be as indefinite as before, and to refer not to a party but to individuals. It seems therefore at present Lord Grenville's determination to endeavour to go on as he is—those who have the battle to fight in the House of Commons for the Government will certainly not have a very easy time of it, and the bed will not be so full of roses as it has been. The King I believe is heartily fond of his shackles, but we have no head to the

party and nobody to advise him to shake them off. Before Parliament meets, which we understand will be the end of October, we must arrange things better than in the last session.

Sheridan I hear still hopes to be forced (?) to represent Westminster."

George Canning to Viscount Lowther.

1806, September 26th, South Hill.—"I have not hitherto troubled your Lordship upon the subjects on which we conversed before we left town; because there has been no period, till the present, at which I have had any thing precise to communicate, and I have not thought myself at liberty to report, without a distinct object, what has passed between Lord Grenville and myself since that communication which I mentioned to your Lordship and to others in July.

Since that time Lord Grenville has expressed more than once, through the same confidential channel, his wish for a renewal of the connection which formerly subsisted between him and me; and his readiness to find the means of making such an opening for me in office, as would certainly have left to me personally, in that respect, nothing to desire.

Knowing, as you do, my sentiments towards Lord Grenville, you will readily judge in what way my inclination would have led me to meet such a disposition on his part, had I acted upon the impulse of those sentiments alone, without reference to other considerations.

But I declined listening to any separate overture. And Lord Grenville was not prepared, at that time, to give to such an overture any farther extension, than that of some law arrangement which should comprehend (but exactly in what manner was not explained) Perceval and the Master of the Rolls.

In this state things continued till the day before Mr. Fox's death. It had indeed been mutually agreed that any farther discussion should be deferred till after the decision of the two important events then depending—that of Mr. Fox's recovery, and the question of peace with France.

Mr. Fox's death, happening before the negotiation had terminated, was of itself a source of new difficulty. On the one hand, it was hardly to be expected that any man would enter at hazard into a connexion with the Government, while the nature and result of so important (and in the view of those out of office, so questionable) a measure was yet unascertained. And on the other hand this event appears to have made it necessary for Lord Grenville to proceed to the making his arrangements without delay.

Upon that occasion it is but justice to Lord Grenville to say, that I believe he did seriously turn his thoughts to the possibility of comprehending a larger proportion of Mr. Pitt's friends than he had hitherto had in contemplation. But he uniformly avowed the determination of not displacing for that purpose any one of the persons who had come into office with him.

Upon comparing the number of openings which Lord Grenville could have to offer, consistently with this determination, with the number of persons acting with us, who had not put themselves out of question as to office; and with what I had been able to collect of the pretensions and expectations of some of them, and particularly of some of those whom I met at your house in July—it was obvious that any proposal which could be founded on so narrow a basis, must be insufficient for its purpose. And as the whole of Lord Grenville's communi-

cations with me on this subject were professedly directed to the single object of ascertaining my opinion as to the probable success of any such overture as he might find himself enabled to make—with the intention (if I should encourage him to believe that it was likely to be accepted) of submitting it for the approbation of his colleagues in office, previously to its being communicated by me to those with whom I was acting, as a distinct and formal proposal; I felt myself bound, in fairness to Lord Grenville, not to give him an opinion more encouraging than I really had reason to entertain. The discussion, therefore, terminated, without ever having assumed the shape of a regular negotiation; but with the expression of a strong wish on my part, that if Lord Grenville should think fit to make any proposal of the sort which he appeared to have had in contemplation, he would do so rather through somebody less personally interested in it than myself and I took the liberty of naming the Duke of Portland as the person who, I thought, would be considered by all parties as the most unexceptionable channel for such a communication.

I have thus given your Lordship an account of a transaction, the result of which I know you will regret.

It is indeed a mortifying circumstance (in our view of the situation of the Government and of the country) that Lord Grenville should, from whatever sense of his actual engagements and obligations, have lost so favourable an opportunity of obtaining that ascendency to his own power and principles in the administration, which we have all along lamented that he has not appeared to possess, and which a connexion with Mr. Pitt's friends would have secured to him. But while I regret this result, I really cannot accuse myself of having in any degree contributed to it, by omitting any thing on my part which could have led to a general or comprehensive arrangement."

Viscount Lowther to Lord Grenville (*copy*).

1806, October 2nd, Lowther.—"My correspondent at Lancaster has not enabled me to answer your enquiries in the manner I could wish. He seems to think, that unless the probability of a vacancy in the representation of that place was more immediate than it appears at present to be, it would be difficult to form an opinion on the question I stated to him, as to the probable success of a person of commercial connections or of any other respectable man not connected with the place. The Duke of Hamilton having never ceased to express his disapprobation of his son's acceptance of a foreign mission, as well as of his desire to be called to the upper House induces a belief at Lancaster that neither of these events will take place.

I hope I may be excused for taking this opportunity, after condoling with you, which I very sincerely do, on the death of Mr. Fox, to express my sincere regret that your arrangements, in consequence of that event, have been such as to preclude all expectation of your desire to form any connection with the members of the late Government. On every account this circumstance is particularly painful to me. On public grounds it appears to me that the co-operation of all parties at this juncture is as important to the national interests as it was at the time when our ever to be lamented friend formed his last administration—and when he had difficulties to contend with in carrying his own views into execution, which do not present themselves to your Lordship. For private reasons I lament this state of things inasmuch as the greater part of the persons who were connected with the last administration,

are those with whom I have acted during almost the whole course of my political life, and who I am sure have no desire to alienate themselves from you, if they saw any disposition on the part of your Lordship to conciliate them.

With many apologies for intruding this subject upon you again."

George Canning to Viscount Lowther.

1806, October 7th, South Hill.—"Before I received your Lordship's letter of the 29th of September I had written to you an account of some communications which had taken place between Lord Grenville and myself in the course of the summer, the result of which (as you may well judge from the arrangements which have actually taken place) was not altogether satisfactory; though the substance and the intention of them was, in the first instance, to me personally as kind and flattering as possible, and with respect to others (between whom and Lord Grenville there subsists less private acquaintance or personal regard) certainly of a conciliatory nature.

This letter you would have received about the time at which you were writing to me, had it not struck me that in giving an account of the result of many detached conversations, it would be satisfactory to myself to be quite sure that I was not mistaken in any material part, and that the general impression which I retained of the transaction was such as the person with whom I had been in direct intercourse admitted to be just. I therefore thought it right to transmit my letter to that person (the same who had been the channel of that communication which I formerly related to your Lordship) and by some accident it has happened that I have not received it back from him. It is even possible that some days may yet elapse before I receive it. In the mean time, it may be quite sufficient to say to your Lordship that when you have that letter you will see that its contents are by no means of a nature to require, or even to justify, any very general communication of them. With respect to myself I do not wish to have the appearance of assuming any extravagant credit for having declined, under the circumstances of the case, to take advantage of any disposition, that might exist, to a separate arrangement. And as to any arrangement on a more comprehensive scale, as all that passed on that subject was in the nature of an amicable and confidential inquiry on the part of Lord Grenville as to what would, or would not in my opinion, be likely to be thought acceptable to those with whom I was acting, but never came to anything like a distinct proposal. I do not think myself at liberty in fairness to Lord Grenville to say more on this part of the subject than may suffice to shew that Lord Grenville entertained a wish to open the way to the making of some such proposal, if he had found that he had the means of making it with a prospect of its being well received.

With regard to the state of things, as we now see them, I entirely agree with your Lordship. And as no option appears to be left as to the course which we have to pursue, I feel it to be a great advantage that while the arrangements which have been made are not of a sort to do away in *any* quarter with the objections that were felt to the original formation of the Government, the array of the Treasury Bench in the House of Commons has certainly received no alteration that can much embarrass us in our pursuit of the course to which we are driven. The triumvirate of Lord Howick, Tierney, and Whitbread has nothing in it less offensive, though I think it is perhaps less powerful, than the dictatorship of Fox. I should have been sorry, from old habits and

personal feelings, that the lead of the House of Commons should have been in T. Grenville's hands. But having taken the Admiralty, which does not leave time for a constant parliamentary attendance, I take for granted that we shall see him very little in the heat of the battle.

I have not heard from any authority when Parliament is likely to meet, certainly not now before the middle of November and how soon after that time I suppose can hardly be yet decided. The decision must probably wait for that of the negotiation at Paris. I have never yet believed in the possibility of peace; and even Lord Lauderdale's unaccountable stay does not shake my incredulity. I hope Morpeth will succeed in blowing the fire faster than Lord Lauderdale has been able to extinguish it. But it seems strange that both operations should be going on at the same time. The course to be taken in Parliament must depend so much upon the issue of the events now passing, that it would be difficult to settle at this moment what are the points most likely, or most fit, to be brought into discussion.

In the event of the continuance of the war, I apprehend it would be our policy, as well as our duty to the country, to give that question the most unqualified support. And I doubt whether it would be desirable in that case, however inviting the opportunity might be, to go back, with a very critical examination, into the errors or mischiefs of the negotiation.

As to a peace, it is utterly impossible that any one should be made in the present circumstances, that would not call for abundant discussion.

In either case, we have Windham just where he was, with some defalcation of absurdity (it may be feared) by the loss of Craufurd, but covered with laurels from the only expedition which he has yet sent forth, that from the Downs against Plymouth.

I am glad to hear so good an account of Lord Melville's health and spirits, though I doubt a little whether it be desirable for him to come forward until some great occasion calls for him. Indeed I have been considering (but as yet with myself only) whether an attempt might not *now* be advantageously made to prepare the way for him, by rescinding the resolutions of the 8th of April. Last session it certainly would have been unwise to try it. But perhaps circumstances are changed. I should like to know how it strikes you."

Lord Grenville to Viscount Lowther.

Private and confidential.

1806, October 8th, Downing Street.—"I am not aware of any probable change in those circumstances which are likely to create a vacancy at Lancaster, and I sincerely regret that so much difficulty seems to occur in finding an acceptable candidate there.

You cannot more sensibly oblige me than by the openness with which you have had the goodness to communicate to me the impressions produced on your mind by the late arrangements. It is precisely on that footing of open and unreserved communication that I wish to be allowed to cultivate and maintain your friendship.

If I had the advantage of conversing with you in that manner on the circumstances which led to that form of arrangement, I am very sure I could have little difficulty in satisfying your mind that instead of wishing to exclude the persons whom you describe I was anxiously desirous to admit, and even to induce them, to take a part in those arrangements. And that the exclusion, as far as it is such, can be

attributed only to their having formed themselves into a body for the purpose of maintaining pretensions so extensive as not to admit of any possibility of their being satisfied without my being guilty of the most dishonourable conduct towards those with whom I am actually joined in office, and who having been placed there at my own recommendation I never could consent to remove from their situations without their having given me any cause to do so.

I do not ask how far the pretensions to which I refer were reasonable in themselves. I am ready to do the fullest justice to the abilities and characters of persons whom I had much rather consider as friends than as opponents, all I contend for is that no man of honour placed in my situation could have done that which was required from me as an indispensable condition and price of their friendship.

It is difficult to write at all on these subjects, and still more to do it in reference to communications which are in their own nature confidential. But let me beg of you that I may not suffer in your good opinion on this account until I have the opportunity of speaking to you freely upon it."

Charles Long to Viscount Lowther.

1806, October 14th, Bromley Hill.—"I am anxious to communicate to you what I have this moment learnt, and from a quarter on which I can rely, that it is the intention of the Government to dissolve the Parliament at the end of the present month ; lest it should expose my friend who gives me the information (and who seems very anxious upon this point), I have only to request that you will not mention that you heard this from me.

You ask what I think we should do at this meeting, the circumstance above mentioned may possibly vary what might otherwise be determined upon, but at all events the first thing to be determined upon, is to have some head to the party without which we shall soon be no party at all. I have understood that previous to the late new arrangements the same proposition, and through the same channel of which we heard at your house was renewed but upon a more extended scale—the answer I believe was that nothing could be listened to unless the proposition was made to the *party*. I have reason to think (though I do not know it positively) that Lord Grenville's observation was, that there was no person who could treat for the party ; though I do not believe he showed any readiness to do so, if there had had been such a person, but the necessity of some leader is quite evident. You probably know that Lord Melville has been very ill, his secretary writes to me that he had had a bilious fever for twelve days and does not say that he was better ; previous to his illness he wrote to me and gave me what he called his political creed, in which I very much agree—he says (upon Fox's death) that it will be in vain to attempt to force out the Government while it is upheld by the King and supported by the heir apparent, but that the former has the power of forming a more respectable Government than the present if he chooses so to do. This I think too, but before he attempts it he ought to try what could be done by a union of parties, for war is now certain, the difficulties will be great, and every energy and all the ability of the country should be exerted. How Lord Grenville, who would not join Pitt without Fox because it would be a Government of exclusion when the country required a union of parties, can now justify the exclusion of the most respectable party in the country, is beyond any ingenuity I possess to conceive.

I returned from Suffolk, last from Rendlesham two days ago where I had most excellent sport, I hope the mountains have afforded you the same in Cumberland."

Charles Long to Viscount Lowther.

1806, October 15th, Bromley Hill.—"I wrote to you yesterday and had little more to add when I closed my letter that I might not be too late for the post, what I mentioned to you is again confirmed by letters I have received this morning—it was decided upon at the Cabinet on Monday, and I hear the proclamation for the dissolution is to be out in the course of a fortnight.

Lord Spencer has I hear been prevailed upon whenever Lord Grey dies to return to the Admiralty, and T. Grenville is to take the Home Department and to have the management of the House of Commons, but unless the Government get some able speakers in a new Parliament, I do not think all this promises very powerful and triumphant debate on the part of the administration in the House of Commons.

The Duke of York has some letters mentioning further successes of the British in Calabria, which he believes to be authentic, and I hear also there are letters from Vienna which state that on account of a formidable insurrection at Naples King Joseph had retired to Florence.

I do not know whether the Royal journey which was supposed in some degree to be a canvassing one has had any great effect, but it is supposed to have had great influence upon the politics of the noble possessor of Ragley. I do not hear that any progress was made in any other quarter."

George Rose to Viscount Lowther.

1806, October 15th, Christchurch.—"It is hardly within the remotest probability that you should not hear of the certainty of a dissolution of Parliament in the course of this month, before you learn it through me; but I am not willing there should be a possibility of your being ignorant of anything that I can be useful in communicating. The account came to Cuffnells yesterday from a quarter I can perfectly rely on, but happening to be here I have only just received it. The measure at this moment is utterly unaccountable to me; not having taken place at the close of the harvest I persuaded myself it was given up for this year at least; it is not conceivable that anything can have happened in the interval to account for the proceeding; the breaking off the negotiation, however popular, cannot obtain much credit for ministers, as Lord Lauderdale remained at Paris till he was actually *sent off* by the French Government.

There have been further negotiations through Canning, but they were not of a nature or rather did not open such a prospect as he thought would justify him in making any communication of particulars to friends on the subject. Lord Grenville therefore strengthened himself with Mr. Bragge Bathurst and Mr. Tierney.

We are hard pressed in this county to meet the expense of protecting Mr. Chute against a proscription for no assignable or possible cause but his consistency in supporting some measures of Mr. Pitt's, which induced me to write a begging letter yesterday to Lord Camden; we are raising *all we can* within the county, but without contributions of good and loyal subjects without it I fear we shall not be able to save him. However the matter may be explained it is a plain, positive and

direct attack on the part of Government; threats and persuasions are most abundantly held out in a manner unexampled, from all Departments. Without presuming to entertain an expectation that your Lordship can think of anything but immediate claims upon you (which I am persuaded are sufficiently numerous) I trust you will have the goodness my merely mentioning (*sic*) our anxious and unprotected state."

George Canning to Viscount Lowther.

1806, October 15th, South Hill.—"I am infinitely obliged to you for the communication of the letter, which you have had the goodness to send me, and which I have read with a surprise, in which I think you will share, when you are in possession of my statement of what has passed between Lord Grenville and me this summer.

The cause of your not being yet in possession of that statement is solely the desire which I have felt to make it as accurate as possible. In pursuance of this object I had sent it, as I mentioned when I last wrote to your Lordship, to the person through whom the communications with Lord Grenville had passed. He returned it to me with a variety of observations, the main (and laudable) tendency of which was to remove or soften every thing that might look like asperity, though there was, as I need hardly say, nothing intentional of that sort, or that by any possible misconstruction might create ill blood among our friends, and especially to sink altogether all mention of individual claims and pretensions on either side. All these observations I cheerfully adopted, and returned the letter altered in conformity to them. So altered, it was pronounced to be correct and unexceptionable in every part, and as such was returned to me this day sen'night, but with an intimation that it had not been shewn to Lord Grenville and a desire that if I thought it fit that Lord Grenville should see it, I would return it again. I did so. I sent it back as well the original as the corrected copy, and with it the observations, in compliance with which the corrections had been made on Thursday last. The person to whom I sent it was then in London. I am of course in daily expectation of receiving it from him again, after having been submitted to Lord Grenville. And the moment that it reaches me I will forward it to you.

But you may form some conjecture from what I have now said, as to what my surprise must have been, to find that while I have been, from the 26th of September (for that is the date of my letter to you) to this time, delaying the communication of my statement of the transaction, in order to make it as exactly as possible comformible to the views of Lord Grenville and his mediator, Lord Grenville has not thought himself precluded on his part from such a statement as that which you have transmitted to me, a statement which puts prominently forward the very topic, which, at the earnest desire of the person employed by him, I had consented to keep back as unnecessary to the giving a fair view of the general character and substance of the transaction, and as liable to create unpleasant feelings on both sides.

Undoubtedly Lord Grenville cannot have seen my letter to your Lordship, or his friend's observations upon it, when he wrote that letter which I have now before me. But I should have thought, and I did think, that in those observations the person who made them spoke, and knew he was speaking, Lord Grenville's wishes and sentiments. And as the whole communication between us was understood to be carried on in the strictest confidence we had either of us an unquestionable right to

say how much of it was to be disclosed (beyond the general result, which practically discloses itself) to the friends of either party. But then, whatever one of us stipulated with the other not to make public, he who exacted the stipulation was surely bound to adhere to it on his own part.

This transaction, like all others in which the names of individuals have of necessity been introduced, is capable of being represented to those individuals in either of two ways (without deviating from the truth in either) : in a way to conciliate, by stating what would have been granted, or in a way to alienate, by dwelling upon what would have been refused them. My sincere wish is that if the discussion has done no great good, it should at least have done as little mischief as possible. But with this view, and if Lord Grenville shares in this wish (as I have hitherto understood him to do) it will certainly be necessary that any communication to be made by either of us to our friends should be rather in the tone of that letter of mine which your Lordship is to receive (and which it would be only useless and troublesome to anticipate) than in that of Lord Grenville's letter to you.

It is as Lord Grenville says 'very difficult to write upon this subject at all, and still more to do it in reference to communications which are in their own nature confidential,' but this difficulty is increased tenfold, whether for written or verbal communication, if the rule laid down by mutual agreement for the extent of the communication to be made by one party is to be at pleasure transgressed by the other.

I will therefore not attempt to enter into any further explanation now, nor until I receive back my so much considered and commented letter with Lord Grenville's additional observations, which I think I can not fail to do in a day or two. I keep Lord Grenville's letter for this short time in order that I may compare the two statements, but you may depend upon my keeping it in the confidence in which your Lordship is so good as to intrust it to me; and returning it faithfully with my other letter.

I must just add, for fear of the possibility of a misconception on that point, that nothing that passed in any part of the transaction was, or could be, felt, or could by any mistake be represented, as otherwise than perfectly cordial, and friendly between Lord Grenville and myself personally, nothing on his part but what was flattering to me and kind in the highest degree, nothing on my part towards him but what I hope carried my sense of those dispositions, and my wish that circumstances *on both sides* had not rendered them, for the present, unavailing. Where we have differed it has been with reference to those with whom we are respectively connected. Could any thing be less judicious than to let those persons know precisely on what points with respect to them those differences have turned? I should think not. And why is *my* connection with others to be represented as the *only* impediment, when *his* is at the same time avowed to be *indissoluble in all its parts?*"

Lord Grenville to ——— (*copy*).

1806, October 16th, Downing Street.—"I return the papers you sent me, they afford ample proofs of the fairness of the intention with which Canning's letter has been drawn, and it is impossible for me not to feel highly gratified by his expressions of personal kindness towards myself, which indeed I never doubted and which are met on my part by feelings perfectly reciprocal. I also concur entirely with him in the propriety,

for his sake as well as for my own, of our being enabled to make to our respective friends some statement on this subject. I have indeed already had occasion to say something on the subject to the very person to whom Canning's letter is addressed. In answer to some observations of his I felt myself at liberty to say that I had had the means of ascertaining that the persons with whom he wished to see me connected had determined not to treat for that purpose but as a body, and to maintain pretentions which (whether reasonable or not in themselves) were inconsistent with what I felt I owed as a man of honour to those whom I myself had so recently recommended to the stations they now hold in Government.

This is the substance, and [I] believe not far from the words which I used, and I confess I think it is only in some such short statement of the leading facts that the respective parties to such a transaction can ever be brought to concur. I cannot but agree with you that the draft of Canning's letter, even as now amended, is much too long, and too detailed for such a purpose. In a narrative of that length and particularity no man can avoid that species of colouring which every one naturally gives in telling his own story, and which would be found to be perfectly different on two such representations of facts precisely the same. The slightest change of the turn of an expression will as you well know lead to different inferences in matters of so much delicacy. And in guarding the impression of my conduct, as I endeavoured to guard my conduct itself, against the two extremes of which I am liable to be suspected by different persons of too great or too little facility, on this occasion I never could concur in and adopt a representation of the details drawn by a person who probably does not feel exactly as I do, as to all the motives which regulated my decision. In such cases I cannot but think that the leading facts are those which can alone be stated by the common consent of both parties; and that the rest must be left to the fairness and mutual good faith of persons honourably and kindly disposed to each other, and who certainly have no intention to misrepresent the particulars.

In this view I think our joint statement might be shortly thus—

1. That nothing passed on either side but with reference to communications to be subsequently made to the respective friends of each, as the proper foundation of any distinct and regular discussion or treaty.

2. That Lord Grenville and Mr. Cruntnelly expressed a desire that circumstances might lead to a renewal of their former connection.

3. That Mr. Cruntnelly described himself as bound by engagements which prevented him from acting otherwise than in concurrence with the body of the opposition, whom he also described as bound by similar engagements to each other.

4. And that it appeared almost immediately that the pretensions of that body were such as could not be satisfied by such facilities as Lord Grenville was likely to find himself enabled to furnish from actual or probable openings, but would require a departure from the determination which he uniformly avowed of not forcibly displacing for that purpose any of the persons who had come into office with him. And that on this ground the whole terminated without ever having assumed the shape of a regular negotiation.

This of course (if anything like it be adopted as a joint statement) will not preclude either Canning or myself from stating our own views and impressions as to minute details—but these will be stated as our own, and consequently by just and reasoning minds will be received as such.

Had a more particular statement by common consent appeared to me necessary or proper I should have had to thank you much for your observations in all which I concur thinking some of them also extremely material, particularly those which relate to Windham and Lord Melville.

I should indeed be sorry to be thought to have admitted a discussion of which Windham's removal formed a part; nor could I acknowledge what was said about Lord Melville to be in any degree a just representation of my sentiments.

Nothing of course can now be said as to future intentions, but speaking of the past, even up to this very moment, I must say that if there be one individual in this country to whom I conceive myself to have shown the *greatest kindness*, and that too with much embarrassment and difficulty to myself, that individual is Lord Melville.

I also think it most essential, that all that passed on my part should be clearly stated as having had reference to future communication, and concert with my friends, before it could assume a binding form. I have no pretensions to be (as is stated) the *master* of the Government I act with, the station I do hold was, as you know, forced upon me by them against my wishes, and I have no desire to carry its pretensions at all higher than necessity requires; much less could I think of acting in such a matter as this, without full communication with them, and a determination not only to ask their advice, but to abide by it as far as a man can honestly sacrifice his own judgment to that of others."

George Canning to Viscount Lowther.

(*Most private.*)

1806, October 17th, South Hill.—"To my great surprise I have not yet received back, from the person to whom I sent it for the purpose of being communicated to Lord Grenville, that letter to your Lordship which has been so long due to you. It cannot, I should think, be withheld much longer. But I feel that I have already detained too long that letter of Lord Grenville which you had the goodness to send me, and which I kept back to compare it with the observations which I may probably receive with mine when returned to me. And tomorrow not being a post day, I think it absolutely necessary to return it to you to day. I keep, however, an extract of the two or three material passages; pledging my word of honour to you that I will destroy that extract, as soon as I have had an opportunity of comparing it—and will preserve it in the mean time as sacredly as I have the original.

I have marked with pencil two passages in Lord Grenville's letter which appear to me peculiarly inaccurate, I think I may say *unfair*. I do not know precisely *who* are included in the description of the words '*the persons whom you describe.*' But if the word 'persons' is indeed to be taken in the plural number, it is itself inaccurate for the 'desire' and 'inducement' mentioned by Lord Grenville were expressed, and related (in the first instance) to *myself alone*. Afterwards a disposition *was* expressed to make a Law arrangement to include Perceval and Sir W. Grant—though how Sir W. Grant was to be bettered in *his* condition *except by the Great Seal* (which was never hinted at) I think would be difficult to explain. And this was the utmost extent to which there ever appeared to be the smallest desire or intention to go—until the very day before Fox's death—when, for the first time, a willingness was expressed to take into consideration the 'pretensions' of other persons;

and they were found (as must naturally have been expected) on a first view, too numerous to be satisfied, consistently with the adherence to Lord Grenville's determination 'not to remove' any person 'actually joined with him in Office.'

But surely there is no more ground for saying that 'the persons described by you had *formed* themselves into a body *for the purpose* of maintaining pretensions, &c.' than there would be for my asserting of Lord Grenville that he had connected himself with his colleagues in Office *for the purpose* of resisting those pretensions. His connexions, and ours, are equally the result of the circumstances in which we are respectively placed—and there are undoubtedly difficulties arising out of them, with respect to any arrangement, which can only be gotten the better of by mutual concession.

Had there been time for a reference, and had I been furnished with any such proposal on Lord Grenville's part as I could lay before the body of our friends, possibly the pretensions which I could not but bring forward in the first instance might have been considerably reduced—provided there had appeared on the other side a disposition to recede in some degree from the strictness of the rule of 'moving nobody.' Possibly I might think, myself, that those 'pretensions' (as stated at your house in July) were capable of being lowered, without disparagement to the body or to individuals ; but I could not possibly undertake beforehand that they should be lowered to such a degree as to come within the limits which Lord Grenville had prescribed. And still less could I undertake for this, or for any thing like it, without communication with those concerned, from which communication I was precluded not only by want of time, but by a distinct understanding that all that passed between us on the subject of other person's pretensions was not to be taken as '*a proposal* to the body' nor was it to be communicated, unless I could in some degree undertake that it should be found acceptable. Accordingly I have not to this hour communicated it to any one of them—excepting to Perceval so much as related personally to himself, which being in every respect flattering to him, could do no harm.

Lord Grenville therefore is certainly not warranted in the implication, conveyed in the words which I have marked, that his good dispositions were foiled only by the extravagant pretensions of the body of Mr. Pitt's friends.

The second passage, which I have pencilled, I really do not distinctly understand. I am not aware of any 'indispensable condition' that was attempted to be prescribed to him. Unquestionably the finding offices for some who have them not *implies* the necessity of making room, but how the room was to be made was Lord Grenville's business. And though in talking this matter over amicably and confidentially I may (for it is possible I may) have pointed out different openings and facilities which I saw, or thought I saw, it in his power to contrive—though I may even have mentioned one or two, but one in particular which would be of itself not only a facility in arrangement, but a means of conciliation (I have no scruple in saying what I meant—the removal of Windham from his present office), yet neither this nor any other suggestion respecting individuals was pressed, or stated as a 'condition,' or was talked of in any other way than as half a dozen other names and things may have been mentioned between us, with remarks which, though perfectly harmless in intention, it would certainly be a violation of confidence to report. But what makes this part of Lord Grenville's letter more extraordinary is, that I had in the original draft of *my*

letter to you (of the 26th September) made particular mention of this suggestion of mine respecting Windham—and I have since *struck it out* at the express desire of the person with whom the whole transaction passed—as tending to bring individual pretensions and points of honour into question unnecessarily. And yet it must be to this, if to any thing specific, that Lord Grenville's observation alludes—for I protest I recollect nothing else that bore the most distant resemblance to a desire of having 'that done which Lord Grenville could not do as a man of honour.' You will observe too that even on this subject, and in this confidential way, the utmost extent of my suggestion was *not* a removal of Windham from office altogether, but a change from that particular office in which all the world agrees as to the expediency of a change.

I could not return Lord Grenville's letter without remarking upon these most prominent points of difference between us; but I must again refer you to my letter which you *are* to receive, for my statement of the substance of the whole transaction."

Charles Long to Viscount Lowther.

1806, October 20th, 31, Hill Street.—"I write chiefly to say that as I shall be in town or within ten miles of it if I can be of any service I beg you will command me. I confess I wish you were in this part of the world, because it seems to me that the present state of things requires a meeting of those who think alike to determine what steps are to be taken—such a meeting must at all events take place before the Parliament assembles. It is understood that the Proclamation for the dissolution will be out Friday or Saturday next. I did not know till to-day precisely what had taken place respecting the proposition from Lord Grenville which I before referred to—not having seen Canning during the recess till within this half hour, and I understand he writes to you by this post detailing the whole of it."

Viscount Melville to Viscount Lowther.

1806, October 20th, Dunira.—"I received yours and also the Duke of Portland's information as to the dissolution of Parliament two days ago, and I have made the proper use of them. I have been so unwell for these three weeks past I am not in a very good state to encounter the bustle of a new election, and on account of my own immediate interests and friends I have no occasion to be at any trouble, but I propose going to Ediuburgh for a fortnight in order to be at hand to aid and advise our friends who may stand in need of my advice and assistance.

At the same time that I thank your Lordship for the communication of the intended measure, I cannot refrain from expressing the sincere concern I feel that His Majesty should have been induced by any consideration to listen to those who counselled him to adopt such a measure. To save myself the trouble of more writing than necessary, I send you enclosed a copy of my answer to the Duke of Portland which contains my genuine sentiments on that subject."

(*Enclosure.*)

Viscount Melville to the Duke of Portland.

1806, October 19th, Dunira.—"I received your Grace's letter last night, together with several others giving me the same information, I sincerely

regret it, not from any personal injury it can do to any political interest of mine—for it can do none—but upon serious public grounds. I have, from its formation, considered a Government formed by a sturdy faction, acting under the auspices of the apparent heir of the crown against the wishes and influence of the legitimate sovereign on the throne, as placing the monarchy of the country in a more disgraceful and dangerous predicament than any other circumstances could have done. Of course I felt a deep anxiety that such an attempt should not be crowned with permanent success. On these grounds I have for many months rejoiced at the conviction that the King had it in his power to get rid of such an administration, and to form another perfectly adequate to the service of the country, and which would, both in its original construction and its subsequent conduct, maintain the dignity of the crown and the personal independence of the existing sovereign, and would, above all, protect him against the intrigues of his own family. The only difficulty which seemed to stand in the way was a pending negotiation. That being at an end, I was sanguine that His Majesty would be relieved from all embarrassments in acting agreeably to what I conceived to be equally his wishes and his interest. A dissolution of Parliament was certainly not the measure which under those impressions I either wished or expected. I always fixed my eye on that point as the standard by which I should judge, how far the King was in truth his own master or how far he was either gained or subdued by his present servants who had seized on the reins of Government in so inauspicious a manner. Deeply impressed with these sentiments, your Grace will be enabled to judge how sincerely I lament the measure about to be carried into execution. I can have no pleasure in detailing the various evils I foresee progressively awaiting us. One reason is sufficient for me to deplore the dissolution of Parliament while the present administration subsists. With the sentiments of duty, loyalty and grateful attachment I feel and ever must feel for the person of my sovereign, I cannot fail to lament that he should have listened to an advice for the adoption of a measure which to my conviction will enslave him and aggrandize his son at his expense during the remainder of his reign."

George Canning to Viscount Lowther.

(*Most private.*)

1806, October 21st, Berkeley Square.—"I am at length enabled to transmit to you my long promised letter of the 28th of last month, after having submitted it to the repeated revisal of the person with whom my intercourse took place, and through him to that of Lord Grenville himself. And in another cover I transmit a copy of a letter from Lord Grenville to the person employed between us, which accompanied his return of the different papers which had been sent to him—viz.—The original draft, and amended copy, of my letter—and the observations of that person upon it and my reply to them. These papers it would only be unnecessary trouble to you to read. The original draft of my letter indeed I have destroyed. And the observations and the answers to them are not worth your perusal, as the result of them is incorporated in my letter as it now stands. Some slight alterations I have made in it, since the receipt of Lord Grenville's letter of the 16th, in order to conform it as exactly as possible (consistently with my impression of the fact) to *his* views and impressions. There is indeed hardly a shade of difference between us: and if I

agreed with him (which I do not) as to the necessity of a *joint* statement of the sort which he suggests, I should not have much more than verbal objections to offer to any part of that proposed by him. In No. 2 for instance I should require that our 'mutual expressions' should be stated in their order of *time*, that Lord Grenville 'expressed' first and that I answered his expression. In No. 3 I should have to soften a little the phrase 'bound by engagements'; I certainly felt an honourable obligation not to accept a separate overture, and acted upon it, but I did not feel, nor describe myself as '*bound*' or as having 'engagements' but such as arose out of a liberal construction of those relations which belong to concert and co-operation. In No. 4, Lord Grenville falls into the obvious mistake, which he points out as unavoidable in 'telling one's own story' that of stating what is really *his own* impression, as that which was common to us both. He speaks of 'actual *or probable* openings'—as if they were equally known to me, as to himself. Whereas *I* could know nothing but of the '*actual*' ones—which were precisely *two* and no more. If all that have since been and are now said to be 'probable' had been mentioned to me, *perhaps* my view of their sufficiency might have been altered.

These are however very trifling and, I am persuaded, unintentional inaccuracies—and are only worth remarking, as they prove that Lord Grenville's observation with respect to the 'species of colouring which every man naturally gives in telling his own story' is applicable also to what he intended, I am sure, as a perfectly *impartial* statement.

You will find the truth of this observation still further exemplified in the account which he gives in *this* letter of the contents of that letter of his to your lordship, which you were so good as to communicate to me. The substance is pretty fairly related—but the 'colouring' certainly was higher than he represents it.

You will have the goodness to return me the copy of Lord Grenville's letter. Mine you will use according to your discretion, only have the goodness to let me know that it reaches you safely.

What says Lord Westmorland to the late event? Surely they promised us too much."

Charles Long to Viscount Lowther.

1806, October 21st, Bromley Hill.—"After I had written to you yesterday I received yours on my return to this place written from Carlisle. I can go to Haslemere at any time and shall wait for further instructions from you upon this subject. The Dissolution has taken our friends very much by surprise; I hear of the unprovided, in all quarters. The appointment of the day for the meeting of Parliament for the dispatch of business, together with a strong doubt whether such a proposition would be acquiesced in seems in various instances to have thrown our friends off their guard. Sir H. Mildmay and Chute through the assistance of Lord Temple are likely to succeed in Hampshire. Lord Camden does not give so favourable an account as I could wish of his progress at Bath, and unless Castlereagh who is his candidate arrive soon I fear his prospect will be a bad one. You shall hear from me when any thing occurs worthy your notice."

Charles Long to Viscount Lowther.

(*Most private*).

1806, October 24th, Bromley Hill.—"I imagine you have by this time received the letter a copy of which Canning shewed me a few days

ago. I am sorry to see from the nature of his transaction as well as from other circumstances the little disposition there appears to be in Lord Grenville to connect himself with those who were the friends of Mr. Pitt, or rather the determination there appears to be in his mind to prefer all others of a different description. It is very intelligible why he should have no great inclination to those who he supposes to have stood in the way of a junction between himself and Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox, but there are others who were anxious for such a junction and to whom I do not think he appears to have shewn more favourable dispositions. If he says that he could not treat with the present opposition as a party because they have no leader, that ought not to have prevented his considering them according to their respective merits—particularly as he gave as a reason why he would not join Mr. Pitt without Mr. Fox, that he would not be a party to a Government of exclusion—but precisely such a Government he appears to me to have taken pains to form.

In all this I think Lord Grenville has acted most unwisely for himself, he would have found opinions much more congenial with his own in Mr. Pitt's friends than in those either of Mr. Fox or of Lord Sidmouth. The question for us is, what is now to be done—what is best for the country and most honourable for ourselves, and upon this point I am very anxious to know your opinion. Lord Grenville appears to have lost the opportunity which Fox's death gave him of making any thing like a general arrangement unless what passed with C——— can be called an attempt to make it. His new allies are Lord Holland, Mr. Bragge, Mr. Tierney and (whenever General Fitzpatrick chooses to retire, which he will do whenever one of the three best military governments becomes vacant) Mr. Whitbread. It seems therefore that there is no prospect of admission for any of the late government unless Lord Grenville should quarrel with any of his present colleagues—all this I lament because I cannot help thinking Lord Grenville the fittest person in point of talents and weight to be the first minister, and this opinion together with old habits of friendship would have naturally led me to wish to have connected myself with him if I could honourably have done so. I cannot help therefore being concerned at a conduct the tendency of which has been to drive the friends of Mr. Pitt into opposition to him.

With respect to those who acted together in opposition last year I see great probabilities of more than shades of difference between them—first I imagine there are those among them who think the only object worth contending for is that of turning out the present Government by force and substituting another, and who if they do not avow this opinion, at least act upon it. I have never acquiesced in the practicability, or if it were practicable, in the policy of such a measure and recent circumstances have rendered its practicability still more doubtful than formerly—but of this opinion I believe are Lord Eldon, Hawkesbury, Castlereagh, and I fear Perceval—there are others who have always thought fair compromise was most advisable, among which I believe are yourself, Lord Camden, Lord Bathurst, Canning, myself and many others. It is probable also that since a certain person (as it will be considered) has shewn no disinclination at least to the present Government by agreeing to the Dissolution there may be others who will not be of either of the opinions above stated, but who may think they are now at liberty to make their own separate terms, and who supposing there is more affinity between their opinions and Lord Grenville's than those of any other persons, will therefore be disposed to unite with him, in the hope of

inducing him gradually to admit more of Mr. Pitt's friends as opportunities arise, and Canning who has always been disposed to compromise threw out several things lately to me which seemed rather to favour this latter opinion. Unless we have a head to the party opinions may still be more various even than I have supposed—for that situation the persons whom I have heard suggested are yourself, the Duke of Portland, Lord Camden, and Lord Hawkesbury. I am sure you would unite the greatest numbers under your banners, but I doubt your inclination to be troubled with all that belongs to this troublesome office.

I have thrown out all this for your consideration and have insensibly been led almost to exceed the fair bounds of a letter—let me know something of what is the tendency of your opinion—there is none for which I have a higher respect, and none which will so much guide my own.

By a letter from Canning this morning I find he is totally unprovided with a seat unless he has what he does not expect, a favourable answer from Ireland. I have heard of ten or twelve of our friends in the same predicament—Wallace, Holford, Lord Rendlesham, Mr. Thellusson, two Scotts, Moreland, Lord Binning, Lord Clancarty, &c. Lord Castlereagh who I fear has little chance at Bath has secured a seat at Plympton.

There is every prospect of a contest here as Sir E. Knatchbull it [appears ?] means to offer himself in opposition to [Sir William] Geary."

Viscount Lowther to George Canning (*copy*).

1806, October 26th, Lowther.—"If I knew in what way to represent it to Lord Grenville with the smallest chance of making any impression, or of awakening in him a sense of that danger which seems to threaten us, I would detail to him some of the proceedings which have taken place during the progress of a certain person in the north. Political intrigues seem to have been the chief object—and those intrigues have all been carried on with a view to strengthen the old Foxite party, in so much that all the new candidates whom this visitation has produced are every one of them men who went into all the excesses into which the most decided revolutionary principles could carry them—should these efforts succeed I will venture to say that Parliament will be composed of men who will have no difficulty in assenting to any measure which a certain person may countenance, and as we know what has already been attempted, we may guess under such auspices what may be accomplished. I am really full of indignation and alarm at the probable success of this delusion which seems to prevail. For the county of Durham the two candidates have been expressly nominated after dinner at Raby, and the two for the city likewise, and sent forth upon their canvas with the assurances of support that the P——'s personal influence could give them. I have great reason to believe that money has been supplied to Cawthorne at Lancaster—and the two persons Lord Darlington has selected for one of his boroughs are two officers of his militia. The formality of Castle Howard will probably not be broke in upon by an inundation of country visitors—particularly as I suppose Wentworth will be the grand scene of action in Yorkshire. To what can all this tend but to place the King under the command of his son, voting with a sturdy faction during the remainder of his reign. The game he is playing is a deep one, and when it is constantly on his lips that Charles the 2nd was the only gentleman who ever sat on the throne of England, we have only to

compare the two characters and then tremble at the issue of this conflict— for unless there is more servility and meanness than I trust in God there is, it must come to this at last. If Lord Grenville could be apprized of all this—if he could but be persuaded that all that remains of the Foxite party is now led on by a person who will stop at no point till he gains his purpose, and that this faction will heartily go along with him, I think he would rouse himself from the security in which I think he has already slept too long. Excuse this hasty scrawl, which I have written under the strong impression of the moment—but under impressions which I think will grow stronger on reflection."

Viscount Lowther to Charles Long (*copy*).

1806, October 27th, Lowther. — "Whatever may have been the obstacles in the way of accommodation previous to the dissolution of Parliament I fear they will be greatly increased by this measure. Numberless difficulties present themselves which ever way I consider the questions you have proposed, and like all others much may be said on all sides. My general wish not only from its object being the most just and reasonable, but because, on that account perhaps, most easily attainable, was such a share in the Government as our friends from their relative strength had fair pretentions to expect. Supposing Lord Grenville to have been disposed to enter on a treaty on this principle, I should have taken, as the basis of it, the terms on which it was understood Mr. Pitt last year was disposed to have granted to the parties of Lord Grenville and Mr. Fox. Perhaps you will say in adopting this I carry our pretensions too high, perhaps it may be so, but I can see no better way of bringing those pretentions into discussion than by taking this precedent, as parties do not enter on a negotiation of this kind without being disposed to mutual concessions. The accession of strength which it is to be feared Lord Grenville will derive from the election of a new Parliament must necessarily alter our situation very materially, and were he more disposed to conciliation on fair terms than I conceive them to be at this moment, I am afraid these terms would become too low to be the object of consideration for a party denominating as rash all who act in concert together. To oppose openly and to place some person at the head of the party to direct its motions seems to afford a still more hopeless prospect. Without any reason to presume that the King is dissatisfied with his servants, and seeing that the heir apparent not only supports him, but is creating all the influence his rank and station give him to turn the elections in their favour (and which shall be the subject of a separate examination) what chance is there of raising any force to conduct such an array? You will ask then what course we have to pursue; my great alarm at present arises from the predominance of the Foxites without his great mind to sway them. We know that his adherents, most of whom acted on the worst of his principles, have placed themselves under another leader illustrious in rank, but I will not add what I was going to say. That some steps will be attempted to be taken, which no honest man can assent to, I firmly believe, and I am afraid the King will find himself in a situation he has never before experienced. If the admission of a few of our friends into the Government would afford some security for the due maintenance of the royal authority and place, a sufficient guard to resist the encroachments of the P——, I for one should feel no difficulty in acceding to such terms. What Lord Grenville means by not forcibly removing any one whom

he has recommended I do not exactly understand, any more than his holding his present situation in consequence of being forced into it by his colleagues to whom he seems to think so much deference is owing; I can only understand it as a civil way to putting by the question. So far therefore from being able to relieve your difficulties I am afraid I have only contributed to increase them. I think the Duke of Portland the properest person to defer to on this occasion; I feel myself unequal to the situation and I am afraid should be hunting at Cottesmore when you wanted me to be speaking in Parliament, and as I can do one better than the other you may guess which I should prefer. As this matter of an union has been proposed to Lord Grenville I should have no objection at all, if the Duke of Portland will not undertake it, to become the mediator, and if the discussion breaks off in a question of terms I hope we shall have such a case to show as will do no discredit to us. If Lord Grenville is in earnest, a great deal of the formality with which he proposes to encumber this treaty might be removed and a plain intelligible statement submitted to him on which his precise opinion might be taken. I can readily understand the line he would wish to draw, and I think it will be to persons rather than to numbers he will object. But still all or most of this will chiefly depend on the turn the elections take, of which I find but little doubt can be entertained. Admitting all this there are at the same time so many other points for consideration and so many remote causes operating to defeat any plan that may be proposed I find myself in a situation rather to follow others than to point out any line for them to pursue, and being so far removed from all communication with you and those whom I should most wish to advise with, I am incapable of suggesting anything which should have any weight in deciding you. At all events let me hear from you again and tell me what, or if anything, you think ought to be done. I should be glad to support Lord Grenville's Government but I feel it impossible to do so whilst all our friends are proscribed."

Charles Long to Viscount Lowther.

1806, October 29th, Bromley Hill.—"I have just received your letter, and agree with you in the observations it contains entirely, what I threw out was much more for consideration than decision, for I do not think it possible to decide upon these points without a good deal more communication between those who have been in the habit of acting together; but I mentioned the different views of things which I had discovered in different persons because in any meeting which may take place whenever you return to town, I am sure you will see these different views operating and influencing the opinions which may be given. Lord Camden writes to me that he has lost Bath by one vote, from what I hear I believe we shall lose by the new elections, for the Parliament could not have been dissolved at a moment more disadvantageous to us, our friends were taken by surprise, they were dispersed, and at a distance, and the dissolution followed the report of it so soon, that they had no time to arrange their plans, the Grenvilles from what I hear will gain, the Foxites and the Sidmouths will lose, at least this is the complexion of things at present.

I have arranged everything with Mr. Denton, and am just going to set out for Haslemere, where the election comes on to-morrow.

[P.S.] Lord Camden has just called, he has succeeded in the county of Brecon."

Charles Long to Viscount Lowther.

1806, November 1st, Hill Street.—"Every thing passed off at Haslemere as pleasantly as possible—the inhabitants in general expressed a great wish to see you, and all agree that the place is very much improved since it has been in your possession—all that related to the election was very well managed by Mr. Denton. You will see by the papers that the French are at Berlin, and as far as I can judge by the map, affairs there appear almost irretrievable, for the King by going to Magdeburg seems to have put himself out of the assistance of the Russians and to have abandoned every thing. I imagine we shall see Bonaparte erecting Saxony into a kingdom after making the Elector pay for his title, which he is very well able to do—and we shall probably see all the work of the Great Frederick undone and Prussia reduced to insignificance—all this is very bad. You shall hear from me in a day or two upon the subject of your last letter."

George Canning to Viscount Lowther.

1806, November 3rd, South Hill.—"I happened to have an opportunity of communicating to Lord Grenville the letter of the contents of which you expressed your wish that he should be apprized. I cannot do better than enclose to you the note with which he returned it to me." [*See enclosure.*]

"P.S.—I have given to Long a copy of my letter of the 26th of September—as the shortest and most authentic way of conveying to such persons as would naturally expect some information on the subject, the substance of what passed between Lord Grenville and me in the summer. It would be endless to make a separate statement for every person, who might require it. And the slightest variation in expression upon a subject of so much delicacy is (as we have had occasion to see in the course of some correspondence which has taken place upon this very letter) capable of giving, or of being understood to give an impression different from what is intended."

(*Enclosure.*)

Lord Grenville to George Canning (copy).

1806, October 30th, Downing Street.—"I return you Lord Lowther's letter, upon its contents I can only say that I have changed none of my principles, and shall always be ready to act upon them, whenever any occasion shall seem to me to require it; and that I am very sensible of Lord Lowther's kindness in writing the letter and of yours in communicating it."

Charles Long to Viscount Lowther.

(*Private.*)

1806, November 11th, Bromley Hill.—"From an expression in your letter I fear that I may have explained myself very ill, or possibly the expression to which I allude may have arisen from something you may have heard in another quarter—you seem to think it probable that Lord Grenville may make some *new* proposal. Now I have no reason to think he has this in contemplation, if he has however I hope he will refer to

you, and his not having referred on the former occasion either to yourself or to some other person who would like yourself have given the subject a fair consideration, makes me say that he did not give the avowed intention a fair chance of success and makes me doubt much whether he really wished that it should succeed. Lord Stafford I hear wrote to T. Grenville expressing his surprise and concern that some of Mr. Pitt's friends were not admitted into the administration on Mr. Fox's death, and I hear also that T. Grenville's answer was in substance that their demands were too unreasonable to be admitted.

The contested elections have not upon the whole gone favourably for Government among our friends. I lament much Lascelles' defeat in Yorkshire. I hear Lord FitzWilliam and the Duke of Norfolk were determined to go all lengths to keep him out. We have a strong contest here, I am doing what I can for Sir E. Knatchbull and I hope we shall carry his election. Lord Camden, who has just been here, is obliged from old friendship (though very reluctantly) to give his interest to Sir W. Geary. As soon as I received your letter I called upon Dr. Smith—but I found he had just set off to Oxford to vote for Heber, so that I have no merit in persuading him—he has since told me that he and Mr. Fox his curate voted in that way, on hearing that it was your wish. I have just sent him into Hampshire to vote for Sir H. Mildmay and Chute.

Of the two, Lord Morpeth is certainly much better than Sir R. Fletcher, but Wallace who called here yesterday says you might have carried both members without difficulty—which would have been still better. I do not however give implicit credit to him on this point.

There is a report that it is the intention of ministers to put the Scotch representative Peers upon the same footing as the Irish—to elect them for life—if this is to be done it should have been by a decision of Parliament previous to the election—it would be a strong measure to consider those who may be chosen for the Parliament, as representative Peers for life. I am sorry to hear that Lord Temple is to have the support of Government as one of them.

Canning you will see is returned for Newtown. He has put a copy of the letter he wrote to you into my hands, and in a note which accompanied it, he says he acted under the *instructions* he received at your house, and I think pretty strongly implies that if he had acted upon his own inclinations, he should have been disposed to have accepted Lord Grenville's proposal—but under the idea that it would have led to a more extensive admission of Mr. Pitt's friends in a short time."

George Canning to Viscount Lowther.

1806, November 12th, South Hill.—"I have this moment received your letter of the 8th and I hasten to thank you for the very kind and flattering offer which it conveys to me.

It is true that I have been kept in uncertainty as to my re-election in Ireland. And at the time when, I suppose, Long must have mentioned the circumstance to you, I had been disappointed in several attempts to secure a seat elsewhere.

Since that time, however, I have found one in the Isle of Wight; for which I am returned.

My not having occasion to avail myself of your kindness does not, however, make me feel it the less sensibly. And I cannot better express the value which I set upon it, than by assuring you, which I do with perfect sincerity, that there are very few persons indeed from whom I

should not have hesitated to accept a similar obligation; but that, after the intercourse which has taken place between us since the beginning of this year, I should have received it at your Lordship's hands not only without scruple, but with the utmost satisfaction and acknowledgment."

George Canning to Viscount Lowther.

1806, November 13th, South Hill.—"I wrote in such haste, to save the post, yesterday, that I omitted to notice that part of your letter of the 8th which relates to the communication of your former letter to Lord Grenville.

Undoubtedly I thought that the whole of that letter, not in substance only, but in the form and manner of expression, was calculated to do good and to awaken Lord Grenville, if any thing could do so, to a sense of some of the dangers which he has to apprehend from those with whom he is connected; and more likely to produce this effect, from the very circumstance of its not being conceived in those measured terms which you might probably have used in writing upon such a subject directly to Lord Grenville himself.

But even with this persuasion I should not have thought myself at liberty to make such a communication on my own judgment, if I had not understood parts of your letter, particularly the beginning of it, as distinctly intimating your wish that such a communication should be made. And the opportunity, which happened to be afforded me on the very day on which your letter reached me, I thought too advantageous to be lost.

Fortunately I have not destroyed your letter, and can therefore return it to you that you may satisfy yourself how free it is from any thing that you could wish to be kept back from Lord Grenville. His answer which I also re-enclose, compared with it, will shew you that no part either of your meaning in what you wrote, or of mine in communicating it, has been misapprehended."

Viscount Melville to Viscount Lowther.

1806, November 19th, Dunira.—"Nothing but the very peculiar anxiety I feel on the subject which creates to you the trouble of this letter could justify me to myself for the liberty I take. Lord Binning has failed in all his attempts to obtain a seat in Parliament. He was under the peculiar protection of Mr. Pitt who provided him a seat in the last Parliament, and if he had been now alive I should have had no occasion to make any attempt on the goodness of others. Mr. Pitt had a sincere attachment to him, and there never was a more enthusiastic worshipper of Mr. Pitt's memory than Lord Binning is. He is unhappy in being out of Parliament, and I am satisfied his chief cause for being so is his being deprived of that means of manifesting his respect for the character and memory of Mr. Pitt. As the eldest son of a Scotch peer he is ineligible for any seat in Scotland, and I have no interest any where else. In this dilemma if the death of Lord Galloway could make any opening for the wishes of Lord Binning I should feel it a most lasting and serious obligation, as probably the wishes of the present Lord Galloway may form a subject of attention in the present vacancy of his seat, I have taken the liberty of bringing the subject under his view, and as I have lately I hope materially aided his political objects, and have the prospect

hereafter of doing it more effectually, I trust that on the present occasion his Lordship will not be indisposed to forward an object I have so much at heart."

Robert Ward to Viscount Lowther.

1806, November 23rd, Hyde Lodge.—"The death of so worthy a man, as I believe Lord Galloway was, is a much greater cause of concern than any I could feel from a much longer absence from Parliament than will be occasioned by the delay of a new writ. But even if this were not so, I beg to say that your Lordship's answer to Lord Garlies is precisely what I should have returned myself, could I have had a right to return any answer at all. At the same time I hope you know me too well not to be certain that any feeling of yours upon the subject must also be mine. As I consider myself now as entirely belonging to the Lowther *party*, I shall be glad to know by any opportunity who is to be my honourable friend for Cockermouth when Mr. J. Lowther makes his election. What I should like to know still more is, whether Miss Mary's partiality for a young and handsome member for Cumberland, instead of an old worn out India Captain, goes at all beyond mere favour to a young and handsome man; that is, whether any political consequence is to be attached to the active canvass which she says she made for Lord Morpeth. The state of parties is surely interesting, critical and important; and the next session I should think would instantly call for a declaration of sentiment in the different members, much more pronounced and extensive than that which has yet been made since Mr. Pitt's death. I am therefore naturally anxious to understand explicitly the views and opinions of one in whom I so much confide as your Lordship. With all their concentration of weight and talents, the ministry have hitherto done nothing but imitate Mr. Pitt's measures or attack his friends. At the same time I cannot help thinking that Lord Grenville himself has a very warm regard for his memory, and may have permitted much of what has been done in resentment for the personal opposition of last session, which though chiefly directed against Windham and Fox, was, I always thought, too violent. This, added to the high consideration which he enjoys and deserves for ability and experience, induces me to think it would be difficult to say that any other person ought to be at the head of the Government or that a personal, systematic opposition ought to be resolved upon. There are no doubt many instances during the course of the elections, of attacks from the Grenvilles, as well as the Foxites, and when their history comes to be known in detail, it may probably make a great difference in one's feelings; but the question is I apprehend still open, whether the whole body of Mr. Pitt's friends are to *engage* to make war *ad internecionem* upon the present Government? Without such an engagement, any war of theirs would be of little consequence; and as it is the dignified design of keeping and acting together with force, is altogether frustrated by the conduct of many of the leading men of his party, I mean such as Lord Bathurst, and Lord Camden, not to say Lord Carrington who is a decided deserter. No one has a right to blame them, but they have completely broken down our power as a *party*, whether to embark in actual hostility, or to preserve an armed demonstration. Considering these things therefore, I own I am anxiously desirous of knowing your Lordship's sentiments at large upon a matter so important as to conduct. Perhaps I may be a little swayed by a good deal of personal respect for Lord Grenville, from whom I

have received at least a good deal of civility; but I confess, though alive to his conduct towards Mr. Pitt, in his late administration, I gave him credit for the sincerest and deepest grief at his death; I have not seen the proof on his part, of an attempt to persecute his memory, but the contrary, and he is at least the man whom we all of us wanted to see in the lead of affairs. If then, we add to this, that we cannot call ourselves *exclusively* the friends of Mr. Pitt, while so many of those he most loved and trusted are either neuter, or supporters of Government (Lord Euston for instance) and that we must therefore engage to one another as *individuals*, I own I think it yet to be decided whether in your Lordship's opinion we are to become an embodied and systematic opposition; or whether your former sentiment is not still to be acted upon, that though there is abundant cause for private dissatisfaction, direct hostility may yet be avoided. Many of us indeed have put the matter out of doubt, by their marked and most able conduct last summer, and to them I feel attached by every personal consideration of esteem and regard; but I was induced not less by my own feeling on the subject, than your Lordship's determination, to stand aloof as I did from the sort of contest they courted, and I confess I do not see that we are either strong, or the ministry bad, enough to attempt their destruction by regular war. To hold together with a view to honourable indépendence, and to resist all attack, either upon ourselves or the constitution, would be a thing much to be coveted; but at any rate, the time is come when something explicit should be known. I am aware how terribly I am trespassing upon you, and how little perhaps it was your intention (when you did me the honour you have done) of making a member who would so plague you with his thoughts. But as consistency and even honour may depend upon future Parliamentary conduct, the present leaders of opposition will no doubt expect to know upon what they may depend; and it would be unmanly in me if I avoided to declare myself freely to those whom I much love and honour, and with whom I have generally acted, though I have sometimes, and may now differ with them in opinion. I trust therefore you will not think me very pragmatical in bringing a subject of such magnitude before the person in the world whose sentiments upon it are to me of the most importance. It is with the greatest truth that I repeat, that a seat in Parliament is nothing in comparison with the thought that I have enjoyed your confidence, and shared, as well as acted upon your opinions. It is one of my proudest wishes to continue to do so, and you must not therefore wonder, if I seek with some little degree of anxiety to know them with accuracy in a juncture so critical as the opening of a new Parliament. The same motive will I hope be my excuse with you for this invasion of your time, by the liberty I have taken in mentioning my own sentiments so much at length. I rejoice that Wharton has not been forced to put your kindness to all the expense to which it was willing to go for him, as well as that he has had the happiness of knowing Lowther. We have no news except that the Prince has taken it into his head that he is in love with Lady Hertford, and that she has taken it into her head that it would be right to run away to Ireland as the best protection for her modesty."

George Canning to Viscount Lowther.

(*Private.*)

1806, November 23rd, South Hill.—"I am very happy to find that it will not be inconvenient to you to be in town a short time before the

meeting of Parliament. The present state of things requires a much more intimate and particular communication between those whose general views and principles of action agree than it would be possible (if it were prudent) to enter into by letter.

I could not even answer one single sentence in your Lordship's last letter (that in which you state your impression as to the situation in which we now stand with respect to the issue of the late transaction between me and Lord Grenville) without going into a detail, which I should feel the utmost difficulty in committing to paper. I can only say generally, upon that subject, that I retain all the opinions which your Lordship and I have entertained in common since our first intercourse at the beginning of the year; that after all that has passed, and *in spite* of much that Lord Grenville has done or suffered, or left undone, I still think him the fittest man for the situation which he fills, perhaps from the fact (a melancholy and not very creditable one for the country) that he is the *only* man fitted for it in any eminent degree; that I still think him, *in spite* of many things which in this view are to be lamented even while they are forgiven, the natural head of an administration of which Mr. Pitt's friends should form a part; that such an arrangement still appears to me an object to be pursued *by all honourable means;* and that, unpromising as appearances are at present, and perplexed as is the whole state of parties and of public affairs, I still think such an arrangement not altogether unattainable—differing only in a slight degree from what seems to be your impression, as to the mode, or rather perhaps as to the moment of taking any steps directly towards it.

The grounds of this slight difference (and it is much less than even in statement it may appear to be) I have no doubt of explaining to your entire satisfaction when we meet.

In the mean time (which is a point of more immediate practical importance) I am most decidedly convinced that, *with a view to this object*, active exertion and zealous attendance in parliament are more than ever necessary; that any abatement either of vigour in our attack, or of numbers in our support, would so far from facilitate the accomplishment of the object, that it would in fact render it impossible for Lord Grenville, however desirous he might be, to do any thing effectual towards it.

In this view, I am particularly glad to receive such accounts, as have been sent me by some of our friends skilled in such mystical matters, of the numerical effect of the new elections. From one quarter I hear that the gain of new strength to Government is no more than 29—and that to opposition 22—that 5 more are to be considered as *hopeful* for *us*, and 14 as *doubtful*—'all but three of whom' (I do not quite understand whether all the *hopefuls and doubtfuls*, or all the *doubtfuls* only) 'supply the places of determined enemies. If therefore they were *all* with Government they would swell their balance only from 7 (the difference between 22 and 29) to 10. If *half* only are with us, they turn the balance in our favour.'

This calculation is made exclusive of Ireland and Scotland—in the latter of which I suppose the turn will be rather against the Government in the former I should apprehend rather in its favour. But upon the whole it seems clear that they cannot have gained *in numbers* any thing that can compensate them for the trouble, the expense, and the unpopularity of the Dissolution—and for the rashness of having thrown away, when they wanted it but little, a measure which they might by possibility wish to have recourse to hereafter. Nothing could be more

satisfactory *to us* than the complete rout of the Doctor's forces. I have a list of *sixteen* of his men, who are slain outright; and I trust they are not likely to revive in other places.

There are, however, *other* views in which the Dissolution certainly gives strength to Lord Grenville's Government. These, I think, will not have failed to strike your Lordship, as they have me; and as I find they have struck Long, and a few others with whom I happen to have had an opportunity of talking. While others of our friends, however, resist (as I am told) the conviction which appears to me irresistible.

The considerations arising out of this point must be reserved for discussion when we meet. They bear directly (as it appears to my mind) upon the subject of the former part of this letter; and may not improbably make it necessary to have a very unreserved and distinct communication upon that subject with many of those with whom we have been acting.

I shall be very glad to hear that my opinions (so far as I have been able to explain them) have the advantage of your Lordship's concurrence; and I shall be equally glad of an opportunity to enter fully and confidentially into an explanation of any parts of them, and of the circumstances with which they are connected."

Charles Long to Viscount Lowther.

1806, November 24th, Bromley Hill.—"I hear it is the intention of the ministers to meet Parliament on the 15th next month to give a certain time for swearing in the members and to proceed to business with as short a Christmas holiday as possible—this information comes from Hatsell, who says he knows it to be so determined.

It is impossible not to feel as you do respecting Lord Grenville's offer—he has not made it as if he considered the success of his proposal of any consequence, and it is unfair to state the pretentions of Mr. Pitt's friends as unreasonable without precisely ascertaining what those pretentions were, which he never has done—putting every other consideration out of the question. I think he has acted more unwisely for himself—he will have difficulties enough to struggle with, and in rejecting persons who would have given him important assistance he has not taken the means he had in his power of encountering them.

The issue of the Westminster Election is just what one would have wished. I should have been sorry that such a person as Paull had succeeded, and yet I should have been sorry that anything had appeared like a general approbation of Sheridan, in truth the whole transaction must be mortifying enough to him—he owes his success entirely to the popularity of his colleague, and to exertions and expense, the half of which would have carried the election of almost any other candidate. If any assistance had been given to Paull by the opposition he certainly would have beat Sheridan, it is to their credit that they did not do so—and yet there was nothing which was factious (not to say occasionally treasonable) which the Foxites did not let loose against the Government of Mr. Pitt. That Mr. Whitbread and others should discover that Sir F. Burdett's principles (now that he has declared against them) are hostile to the constitution, of which his connection with O'Connor and Despard could not formerly even raise a suspicion, is a circumstance which ought not to pass without a good deal of observation.

I have no news to communicate—the Government do not give up the Prussian game as lost yet—such at least is the tenor of the language

they hold. The Prince I hear was very unwell upon his second tour as well as on his first—he is said now to be recovered.

Webb who I met lately at Lord Bridgwater's was the person, if I recollect right, who mentioned Smirke's plan—and he spoke very well of it. I heartily hope Cawthorne may not be suffered to sit among us."

[P.S.]—"Prince Hohenlohe's surrender seems to put an end to all hopes of Prussia, and I believe it is certain that the King has sued for peace on any terms he can obtain."

Viscount Melville to Viscount Lowther.

1806, November 28th, Dunira.—"I have this morning received your very obliging letter. I must go to town for a few days next week to aid my friends the candidates for the representation of the Peerage, which comes on next Thursday. I shall then have an opportunity of explaining to Lord Binning the *chance* which your Lordship's goodness presents to his hope. I hope I need say nothing to convince your Lordship of the deep sense I entertain of your kind feelings to myself in this business. I trust your Lordship will never see cause to repent it, or the motives which dictate it. What you say of Mr. Pitt's memory is truly gratifying, the more so as some who had every cause to have felt the same sentiment, seem to feel very little of the active operation of that sentiment."

Lord Mulgrave to Viscount Lowther.

1806, November 30th, Mulgrave Castle.—"I did not trouble you with an answer to your letter, in the midst of your election arrangements, because I was persuaded that every day's letter bag must have brought you an heavy task of reading and writing, and I take some degree of merit for my forbearance as my curiosity was much excited by many things to which you alluded and of which in this remote and retired corner I had heard nothing—I mean the transactions at Raby and the visit to Sir John Lawson—and though they must now be considered by you as old stories, I still feel rather inquisitive after any circumstance of the conduct of the great, or rather high, personage in question, which can be supposed to create surprise.

With respect to Lord Grenville I confess I have been much disappointed and surprised at the course he has pursued, not only since the death of Pitt, but even previous to it—from the period of the peace of Amiens he began to *set up for himself*, and to endeavour to collect as many as he could detach from Pitt on that question into a body of which he should be the leader and oracle, and I have no doubt that he considered himself from that period, as the head of a distinct party, with which to stipulate and negotiate, and upon the great struggle to turn out the Doctor he united himself so closely with Fox to balance the great weight and popularity of Pitt, that he would not and I believe could not separate himself from him—how far the conduct which he pursued afterwards was formed upon broad principles, or upon ambitious speculation, his junction with Addington, the object of his contempt and reprobation and the ostensible cause of his political separation from his political benefactor, his great intimacy with Lord Auckland, and his vehement and strenuous endeavours to force Lord Lauderdale into a situation of unbounded power and uncontrolled discretion, may be sufficient to prove without minor though numerous instances of a similar description. But how any degree of passion or prejudice, should ruin

itself in this stoical endurance of all former objects of hatred, contempt and disgust—and should without any provocation to excite it, become so strong as to set aside the steady pursuit of supreme power which might have been confirmed by a moderate and very limited encouragement of a few of Pitt's friends and a decent forbearance towards his leading principles, and favourite measures, I cannot take upon me to guess, it can only be attributed to one of those strange inconsistencies in human nature which no sagacity could foretell and no reason can explain. As his conduct has been inexplicable, so also has the result of his scheme been more unfavourable to the character and estimation of his Government, than could have been supposed possible, with a man at its head confessedly the first of the surviving statesmen of the country, for though he has not the universal and transcendent powers of mind which rendered Pitt a prodigy, nor the brilliant talents and large compass of intellect which distinguished the wonderful but ineffective understanding of Fox, yet he has a clear and confident mind and a strong and laborious understanding; but with all this his administration is neither popular nor respected, nor indeed enjoys much more credit with the country for wisdom, vigour, and activity than that of the Doctor himself. And this because he is not alone sufficient to create an opinion of talent and principle in a Cabinet where they cannot elsewhere be sought for in the same person. Lord Spencer is a most respectable worthy and honest man, but splendour of talent he would probably not himself affect—what are the qualities of the rest of the Cabinet, give them the epithets which should belong to the situations they hold, and see how they will fit them, the mild temper, conciliatory manners, and tried partiality to the ancient order of things in Europe of the foreign secretary of State—the universal popularity amongst all the descriptions of armed force of the Kingdom, the judicious and popular selection of commanders, prompt and steady decision of military operations, and calm laborious attention to business in trade and colonial policy of the Secretary of State for War and Colonies. The dignified, constitutional, and deliberate disposition of the Chancellor on political subjects, his just and temperate estimate of law and constitution, and above all the perfect propriety of his private life and conduct. The Lord Privy Seal's just estimate of the power of this country as opposed to France and lastly the great financial talents and powerful influence in parliamentary debate of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. These elements of the Cabinet, together with the great measures which they have omitted and the petty papers which they have published have completely obscured with their Bœotian Fog whatever the country formerly esteemed as brilliant and great in the character of the favourite *Elève* and most distinguished associate of Pitt. I beg your pardon—I find I have been severely inflicting the arrears of my silence, and have run imperceptibly into something very near as bad as a party pamphlet or parliamentary speech—when I only intended to have observed that the inveterate attack of every friend and supporter of Pitt in the elections all over the country, not merely where there was a probable chance, but wherever there was the possibility of entertaining any hope of success, seems to mark a determined disposition to force even the most unwilling into hostility, and as far as politics are concerned we may say for Pitt, what Henry the 4th says to the Prince, 'Your life did manifest you loved me not, and you would have me die assured of it.' It only remains to hope that the occasion may create men, and that the new Parliament may produce some great light to guide us, some one willing to lead and worthy to be followed; I heartily wish that any way there

were a strong Government. By strong Government, I do not mean merely a great majority, but an administration formed of persons whose political principles the people do not suspect, whose characters they can venerate, whose talents and wisdom they can respect, and in the vigour and patriotism of whose measures they can place an implicit confidence, unmixed with fear. I for one should be well satisfied to sit quietly by my fire side, under the care and protection of such a Government."

George Canning to Viscount Lowther.

1806, December 3rd, Berkeley Square.—"I very much hope that it will not be inconvenient to you to be in town by the beginning of the week after next. As though no business of importance can come on for some days, the debate on the Address, which is expected to take place on the Thursday or Friday, the 18th or 19th, is of itself very important.

I should be sorry not to have an opportunity of communicating fully with you before that debate. And the rather, as I am afraid I shall be under the absolute necessity of leaving town (on private business) as soon as it is over, for ten days, or perhaps a fortnight.

It is certainly much best to defer any more particular discussion till our meeting.

[P.S.] I have not seen Long very lately, but when last we met I found his impressions of the state of things very much the same as my own. I shall be in town the 13th."

Charles Long to Viscount Lowther.

1806, December 3rd, Bromley Hill.—"You may possibly not have heard what is to be the course of proceeding in Parliament, it is intended to meet the 15th, Monday, to choose the Speaker, on Tuesday, to have the Speech and the Address on Friday, and to have two or at most three days holiday at Christmas.

I have received a letter from Lord Melville giving an account of his success in the elections in Scotland, where he seems to have been very triumphant, he is particularly happy at Pitfour's [James Ferguson's] election of which he had despaired. You will see on the papers the resolution of the Hampshire meeting to petition Parliament in consequence of the interference of Government, they certainly have interfered more openly and I believe more grossly than ever was done before, but unless the case is very strong indeed, all this is better as a topic of debate than as a parliamentary question. My late colleague is the great promoter of this measure, and as I cannot rate his judgment very high, I doubt a little the policy of this measure, he had intended making a similar complaint respecting the interference at Christchurch, but he was dissuaded by those whom he consulted and who expressed their surprise to me that upon the case stated he should ever have thought of bringing it forward.

The capture of Hamburgh has thrown the city into the greatest consternation, several failures it is supposed will be the consequence, where shall we hear of this disturber of nations next? The King's speech will not be able to hold out any thing consolatory.

Shall you be up for the meeting or do you spend the Christmas at Lowther?"

ROBERT WARD to VISCOUNT LOWTHER.

1806, December 3rd, Hyde Lodge.—"I owe you all my thanks for your answer to my last, and the manner in which you are so good as to permit the communication of my feeling with respect to its interesting subject. I never expected, nor even wished, your Lordship to enter at large upon it by letter, but am very glad indeed to think that I may so soon meet you in town. As the Cockpit shows no indication of sitting, and I cannot take my seat in Parliament till after the recess, I had not till then intended to have stirred from my shepherd's cot; but I shall fly with pleasure to the meeting you are so good as to announce, and am only sorry to beg another letter from you to tell me when you expect to arrive in town.

Mean time, though my fair enemy misrepresents me (which I am very glad of, because it serves to shew her wit and vivacity), I hope your Lordship does not, with her, believe that Brennus the Gaul has lost his noble spirit. I trust I may not be quite so great a savage as is necessary to please Atalanta, and yet hate His Majesty's Government with a sufficient degree of virtue. As your Lordship is so good as to enter upon the subject, I will just add a few words that I may not misrepresent myself, and own that there is nothing which appears to me so disgusting in the history of parties, as that there should scarcely ever have been a resting place between a relinquishment of office and a violent opposition. It always seemed to me, that the true independent and dignified character is much better preserved by a firm and discriminating moderation. I was always struck with that honourable part of Lord Townshend's life, when, though he had separated from Walpole with every sentiment of mortification and disgust, he utterly refused to embark in a party contest against him. Perhaps (on the same principle) no public sentiment of our great and lamented friend ever did him more honour than his hope (when driven out of office by the coalition in 1783) never to be found in an undiscriminating opposition. I add to this, that Lord Grenville was the person whom every one of the late administration called to the helm; and that all, or nearly all, of us were prepared to approve of an union with every man of the present administration. The wrongs of Lord Grenville towards us as a party, and as old friends, are indeed great; but on that very account one would be cautious not to begin an opposition on personal motives, not to fall into the very fault of which we so justly accused the Grenvilles themselves when they opposed Mr. Pitt. These sentiments lose none of their weight from the dreadful approach of a storm from without, which may extinguish both party and the nation itself in one general wreck. But though these are my sentiments, such as they are, you may suppose they are merely speculative, and submitted to be corrected by your Lordship and other friends, and above all to be controlled by events; nor will it be necessary I trust seriously to observe that nothing can be more widely different from these opinions than to engage in the support of an administration that attacks us as a party, and takes every occasion to blast the reputation of the late ministry. It is this which, as your Lordship remarks, in language not more pointed than deserved, makes Lord Carrington's desertion appear of the meanest and basest kind; a sentiment which I have not refrained from indulging here, within the pale almost of his private society. Whatever I might think, I was quite sure you would forgive my mentioning it, particularly at a time when it was so necessary to discuss things preparatory to conduct and decisive action. I was thus sure because your

Lordship knows me to be attached to you, not merely from a sense of personal obligation, but from regard (if you will allow me to say so) both as a private man and a political leader. Need I add the instances of kindness and confidence upon which such regard is founded. I was however most tempted to enter so much at large into the subject, because from any thing that had hitherto passed, I did not know exactly how your Lordship meant to act yourself towards those gentlemen who have already drawn the sword. On the one hand I was by no means prepared to say that I was ready to go all lengths with them, either on account of my own opinions, or the knowledge of your Lordship's; on the other, from my great and known esteem for them, as well as intimacy with many of them, they have every right in the world to demand of me the precise line of conduct which it is meant to pursue. To be told that the 'bent of your own mind is opposed by many difficulties' does not diminish the interest of the subject, and only makes me more than ever wish for the pleasure of a personal communication with your Lordship.

[P.S.] You are extremely obliging on Lord Binning's subject. I learned with surprise and concern from Mr. Drake his uncle, who is my neighbour, that he was likely to be out of Parliament.

After all, I have, I believe, been wrong in troubling you with these my primitive, innocent, and (*somebody* may add) very ridiculous notions; but only wrong from the difficulty of explaining one's self in a short letter, and the *ennui* of a long one. Lord Mulgrave to whom I had written in this style quizzes me, and says such conduct will by vulgar and plain persons be deemed trimming and courting. Yet we did not trim or court in our vote upon Lord Ellenborough's appointment, even while we professed *not to oppose*. It is this conduct only which I meant to propose. Yet Lord Mulgrave himself says he is not determined as to the line he will pursue, and that much will depend upon the nature of the Paris negotiation, when disclosed. That much *should* depend upon it, and that we should not prejudge it in the true sharp spirit of party vehemence, is all that I mean. At the same time I beg to add that wherever my friends lead, there will I follow."

Viscount Melville to Viscount Lowther.

1806, December 4th, Edinburgh.—"I met Lord Binning yesterday in this place, and communicated to him the contents of your Lordship's letter. Even the chance held out to his view overjoyed him, and short as the period of it may be, it will give him very great satisfaction if it shall suit your convenience to give him the accommodation you hold out to his hopes. I will not trouble your Lordship with a repetition of my own feelings on the subject, but I can assure you with great truth that I would rather owe the obligation to you than to any other person in England. I shall have an opportunity some future day to explain to your Lordship why I feel in that manner.

[P.S.] Our friend Pitfour has had a hard struggle against the whole power and efforts of Government, but we have carried it to his great joy and to the great annoyance of his opponents."

Charles Long to Viscount Lowther.

1806, December 8th, Bromley Hill.—"The Speaker is to be chosen on Tuesday 16th and the Speech and the Address to be on Friday

19th, this I know is what is now determined upon, if any alteration takes place of which I am apprised in time to reach you I shall not fail to give you notice, but I do not think it likely that any new arrangement should be made.

I shall have to shew you the state of the new House of Commons as compared with the old when we meet, it is not complete as I have not an accurate return from Scotland or Ireland, but calculating upon the probable returns from them I cannot put our loss by the Dissolution at less than 25. There is one result of the Dissolution at which I cannot grieve, Lord Sidmouth out of 30 which was his whole strength in the House of Commons loses 16, and is I understand very angry."

Earl Camden to Viscount Lowther.

1806, December 10th, Wildernesse.—"It is very long since we have corresponded, but had I not been informed by Long that he occasionally wrote to you and apprized you of the state of things I should certainly have written to you.

Lord Hawkesbury spent two days with me in his way from Walmer. He is disposed to be very moderate at present, but at the same time, to let it be understood that there are topics on which a good deal might be said at a proper opportunity. The principal thing I am anxious about, is that ministers should prepare such an address on the rupture of the negotiation as may produce an unanimous vote in favour of the spirited prosecution of the war.

I saw by Canning's desire the copy of the letter he wrote to you, the offer to him was surely much too limited, I think he appears to have acted very correctly. I learn from a source, which can be depended upon, that the Prince of Wales is in a very alarming state of health and that the greatest apprehensions are entertained of him. You may depend on the accuracy of this information.

Pray let me know if we are likely to see you in town at the meeting of Parliament."

Charles Long to Viscount Lowther.

1806, December 12th, Bromley Hill.—"I hope very much that you mean to be in town for the speech, which is to be Friday as I before mentioned, if you should have no particular engagement perhaps you will pass the Christmas here.

I have been looking as accurately as I could at the state of the Returns, by which I find that the gain of the Government cannot be put at less than 30, and since I have ascertained the politics of several of those whom I considered as doubtful, I find that the Foxites have gained full as much as Lord Grenville, and more if the Prince is reckoned as belonging to the former. Lord Sidmouth complains most bitterly and thinks himself ill-used, he pretends to have lost 18, I can account for only 16, which however is more than half his whole force, but he says that some of his friends were ready to purchase and that Foxites were preferred; he is doing what he can to get in some of his friends for the six double returns.

I have letters from Ireland giving a most lamentable account of the state of that country, the Thrashers have already appeared in great numbers in Mayo, Sligo, Roscommon, Cavan and Longford, and they were spreading further. The civil power has been totally ineffectual in crushing or even in intimidating them, they have murdered several

witnesses, and the juries are afraid to convict, and they have applied to the Government for regular troops, not venturing to trust the militia. This together with the disasters on the Continent presents a most dismal picture."

VISCOUNT LOWTHER to LORD GRENVILLE. (*Draft of letter endorsed "not sent."*)

1807, October 12th.—"Nothing can be further from my intention than to draw you into a correspondence on points which are not only most difficult to discuss in writing, but in a great degree scarcely fitting to be the subject of it. However, if I were much less sensible of the kindness I have received from you and less indifferent as to your good opinion I should feel the necessity of making my best acknowledgments for the last letter I received from you.

Nothing, you may be sure, could be further from my mind than to expect that in any communication with an opposing party, the slightest deviation from the strictest principles of honour could be admitted as the basis even of a negotiation. The character of the nation can only be supported by the private honour of individuals. I have ever held in abhorrence those easy and fluctuating principles which can bend themselves to the service of any party, and though I will not speak with disrespect of any of your colleagues, I am sure you will excuse me if I tell you that the only point on which I ever differed with my late friend was on the subject of his union with Lord S., which I thought after what had already passed was incompatible with the dignity of his character and with the opinions I heard him express. The purity of his mind was as conspicuous as the splendour of his talents, and though I had never any opportunity of hearing from his own lips the explanation which he frequently promised me, I am led to believe, having his assurance for it, that he could satisfactorily account for the whole of that transaction. You will easily see how I mean to apply this example. There is nothing in principles of difference betwixt you and the friends to whom I allude. That they have now connected themselves as a party is precisely what was to be foreseen, and though I have reason to believe at the time you allowed me to speak to you on this subject in June last, no pretensions should have been set up by them as a collective body, I am afraid the great events of the session have made it almost impossible to detach them, were ever those circumstances to be desired. Being entirely ignorant of the pretensions on which you have had to decide, I can only judge of the extent by the light in which you consider them. Knowing a little of the scheme which it was Mr. Pitt's intention to submit to the consideration of the King last year, and which perhaps he did submit to it, it is difficult for me to conceive how any party standing as that does, which you allude to, could assume to themselves more consequence than Mr. Pitt gratuitously attached to his opponents at that time. That the present opposition is neither deficient in talents and consequence, in character or in numbers, I am sure you will readily allow. You will admit likewise that on no great constitutional question is there any material difference of opinion. I would, therefore, beg to ask if fair and reasonable concessions can be made on both sides, supposing that the project as it is now understood to be capable of some modification, for I am in entire ignorance on the subject, would you feel disposed to enter on the discussion, his Majesty's permission for that purpose being previously obtained? There is one duty you owe to your col-

leagues, and there is another you owe to the public should the exigency of the times produce events which may render them incompatible with each other. Should the sense of Parliament and that of the House of Commons in particular and of the public appear in favour of that union which appears to me so important to effect, is it to be understood that no recognition of the persons with whom you negotiate, as a party, is to be the basis of that treaty. The terms of such a treaty must in a great degree be governed by the relative strength of the contracting parties, but any disparity of that strength in my opinion should make that conduct fair and honourable that would not be equally so under all circumstances, and in all situations. To require impossibilities is to shut the door against communication—but it may be a question whether the mode in which the vacant offices have been filled has not increased the difficulties in the way of an union—under similar circumstances Mr. Pitt's arrangements were evidently calculated to meet a different state of things, and to facilitate the admission of new persons into the Government. With this view of it, you will, I am sure, forgive the freedom I use in saying that I see no signs of such a disposition on your part in what has taken place since Mr. Fox's death. From motives of personal regard towards some and with the highest respect for the talents of others I cannot but feel most anxious to see this union effected. I am persuaded it is for the benefit of the country, and I should have hoped likewise it might have become most grateful to yourself.

The arrangements which have taken place in consequence of Mr. Fox's death seem to preclude all hope of your having it in contemplation to extend your political connections. No one can regret the necessity which has suggested this measure more than I do, [being ?] sincerely attached to your Lordship, as well from the high estimation I have ever had for your character, as from a knowledge of the value our late most excellent friend entertained for you. With no very pleasing reflections I look to the events of the approaching session. When all those with whom I have ever been connected and have acted with in public life are ranged in opposition to your Lordship, an opposition which it seems might have been easily conciliated when the very system which was almost all that was ever objectionable in the conduct of my late revered friend, is acted upon by you—and when it is known that he had difficulties to encounter which made his adoption of that system, almost involuntarily, consistent with his own idea of the duty he owed to a high authority, difficulties which do not present themselves to your Lordship, I would ask your Lordship how it is possible for myself and many who think as I do to reconcile their duty with their inclination should they support the measures of the present Government constituted as it now is. The conduct of the last session can not have given your Lordship, as I am sure it has not the country, a very mean opinion of those members of the late Government who have distinguished themselves most in the House of Commons, and with whatever confidence your colleagues may enter the lists this year, I fear the country will suffer, as I have no idea that its difficulties or dangers are in any degree diminished."

Dr. Thomas Zouch to the Earl of Lonsdale.

1808, Jan. 16, Durham.—"The Duke of Portland was certainly incorrect when he asserted that the annual value of Carlisle was nearer 4,000 than 3,000 pounds a year. Dr. Douglas held the Deanery

of Windsor along with Carlisle, and Dr. Law held his Mastership of Peter House along with the living of Graystock. His Grace by disposing of my living with my prebend would have taken from me nearly what he would have given me. My character is, I find, much higher in the world than what I ever thought it to be: and a prime minister would not have disgraced himself by being a patron of merit. Instead of that he has shewn himself as a factor, making the best bargain that he can. Dr. Goodenough is glad to mount the Bench on any terms, because he expects to rise higher, and will be restless until he obtains in due time a translation . . . . I mention these things, not that I am dissatisfied, but just the reverse. My situation is perfectly grateful to me, and the congratulations I have had on declining the mitre convince me that I have not lost any honour by that measure."

Dr. Thomas Zouch to the Earl of Lonsdale.

1808, March 4, College, Durham.

"Lord Lonsdale's History of the Reign of James II. will be printed off in the end of next week or the beginning of the week after. I think that 200 copies were to be printed.

I am informed that in the gallery of Mr. West's house at Windsor is a picture of the Death of Sir Philip Sidney, and also a drawing of Sir Philip Sidney ordering the water to be given to the wounded soldiers—both by Mr. West. It would be an acquisition to my work to have a description more particular of these two pieces . . . . The Life of Sir P. S. will be printed off very soon. I am extremely anxious lest it should not be received by the public according to my wishes. An engraving of Sidney will be executed by Mr. Warren. It is from a fine picture at Wentworth Castle given by Horace Walpole to his friend Lord Strafford. But Mr. Vernon, who now resides there, gives so vague an account of it, that I fear little dependence can be had upon what he says."

Dr. Thomas Zouch to the Earl of Lonsdale.

1808, April 21, College, Durham.—"I have just received from York a packet containing twelve copies of Lord Lonsdale's Memoir. The work is most beautifully printed. Fifty copies are forwarded to Lowther, a certain number to Swillington, and the remainder will be sent to Cottesmore in the course of a few days."

Dr. Thomas Zouch to the Earl of Lonsdale.

1808, June 20, Sandal.—"I am very happy to know that the Memoir [of James II.] is read with much satisfaction. Indeed I did not doubt but that it would be generally approved. It has frequently occurred to me that the publication of it would be very useful, and a very proper antidote against Mr. Fox's History, which I have read with much attention. In many passages of this long expected work the language is coarse, and the style slovenly in the extreme. Every writer of an English History should surely endeavour to improve his native language. I say nothing of those political principles or sentiments in Mr. Fox's volume, which are very objectionable."

Thomas Holcroft to the Earl of Lonsdale.

1808, Dec. 1, Clipstone Street, 30, Fitzroy Square (*sic*); and Dec. 7. —Two letters asking assistance, and giving some particulars of his life, which will be found in the dramatist's *Memoirs*.

The Hon. H. C. Lowther to the Earl of Lonsdale.

1808 Dec. 4, Astorga.—"It is quite out of my power to send you any news from this country, although we are upon the spot, everything is kept quite silent from us, and there are so many different reports, we do not know which to give the most credit to, nothing even is to be heard from the Spaniards.

I saw an English paper yesterday dated the 12 of last month, it mentioned that the army was treated with the greatest civility possible; it is quite the contrary, they do not like us in the least, and they tell us very often (to please us) that they had rather see the French than us, I do not know how our generals get on, but I suppose it is they that receive the civility, as they are always at a nobleman's (if they may be so called) house, but one of their houses is not half so comfortable, or one tenth part so clean as an English cottage. It is impossible for anyone who has not been to Spain, to conceive how the Spaniards live in their filth and dirt, they have no amusement whatever, you never by any chance see one with a book in his hand (but that is the case with a great many of our English gentlemen); the way they pass their day is I believe in sleeping and smoking, for that is the only way we see them pass it, they are quite ignorant of everything that is going on, they think they have three different armies in Spain, amounting to three hundred thousand men, and their whole force in Spain does not amount to more than than 25,000, and 80 cavalry (*sic*) that we can hear of, and they say they could mount 80 more if they could get horses. I have given you a short account of the inhabitants of Spain and now I will give you one of the country. The principal part of our march has been through the mountains, in short, I may say the whole way except the last day. It is a most beautiful country, and numbers of uncommon fine rivers and bridges. We are going in a few days to undergo a long and tedious march to Lisbon, and I am afraid a very cold one as we have to pass a great number of snowy mountains."

Dr. Thomas Zouch to the Earl of Lonsdale.

1809, July 19. Durham.—"Mr. Southey, whose usual place of residence is at or near Keswick, has been upon a visit to his brother, a physician of this place. He is pretty well known by his Works, his prose and poetical compositions making no fewer than twenty volumes. He dined with me one day. His conversation is very interesting and full of anecdote. He is now engaged in writing the History of Portugal. The fertility of his imagination is such that he will never find any difficulty in furnishing materials for the employment of his pen.

The prospect of affairs on the Continent assumes a more pleasing appearance, but it seems impossible to terminate the horrors of war so long as the ferocity of the Corsican is allowed by Providence to exercise its relentless rage with impunity."

The Hon. H. C. Lowther to the Earl of Lonsdale.

1813 Sept. 1, Bilbao.—"Part of our regiment arrived in the entrance of the river Durango (which is the river that runs through Bilbao) when we disembarked the next day, and marched into the town of B——. It is a tolerable good town, but a very mountainous country around it. I

have not heard anything respecting the army since my arrival, nor can I learn any particulars respecting St. Sebastian. We had a tolerable good passage, we were on board twelve days, and we have not had a wet day since we left London. Three of our transports have not yet arrived in the river, and it is supposed that they are gone to St. Andero which is about 40 or 50 miles W. from Bilboa. I hope they have not put into St. Antona by mistake, for the French have possession of it, and it is garrisoned by 2,500—at least those are the numbers that the Spaniards say they have there—however it is an amazing strong place, it is a small island about 2 or 3 miles in circumference, with very strong batteries surrounding it, and they have also very heavy guns upon the mount which lays nearly in the centre of the island and which is very high and commands the whole island. The Spaniards are blockading them and prevent them getting fresh provisions, but I am afraid they will annoy our transports very much for they have a corvette and several privateers, which are constantly on the watch to catch any straggling vessels. They succeeded one night in cutting out a store ship from the river, that is the only one I believe they have as yet taken. Our ships cannot get at them, for they run into their harbour the moment they see any of our armed vessels, and there they are safe, for they are under the protection of a 20 gun battery. It is situated rather in an unfortunate place for our transports, for it lays about half way between this town and St. Andero, and our store ships are constantly employed in going from one place to the other.

I have not heard when we are likely to march from hence, but I should not think that we shall remain in our present quarters for this fortnight, for they are not in any want of cavalry at present. The Spaniards from what I have as yet seen are not the least improved in respect to their civility towards you. But I always understood that the Biscayans were the worst conditioned people in Spain. The army is employed in making breast works, and strengthening the passes over the Pyrenees as much as possible.

There are an immense number of wounded lying at this town, I should think to the amount of nearly four thousand, I believe there is nearly the same number at St. Andero. I believe that I mentioned to you that Capt. Gordon of the *Magicienne* was so good as to give me a passage in his frigate. We had rather a large party, for he brought Col. Kerrison and Elphinstone also. You will hear of the fate of St. Sebastian long before I can send you any account of it, for there is very little communication with the army from hence, since we have got possession of Passage which is between six and seven miles E. of St. Sebastian."

The Hon. H. C. Lowther to the Earl of Lonsdale.

1813, Sept. 6, Bilbao.—"There are an immense number of French prisoners going through here daily to be embarked for England, they are chiefly young men and a great many young boys with them, they are very sick of war and complain most bitterly against Bonaparte. There were several French officers on their parole in this town when we arrived, waiting for a passage to England, one of whom is a French colonel whose regiment which consisted of 5,000 men were all killed or wounded to a man ; he himself was wounded in the shoulder ; they had to cover the retreat after the battle of Busaco. Lord Wellington wished to get him exchanged as he behaved so well, but Soult had received strict orders from Bonaparte not to exchange a man, and this has

enraged the French colonel and his account of the proceedings of Bonaparte and his government is horrible. He states the south of France to be in a state of rebellion against his government, but he says it is so drained of men that it would be impossible to muster any men to rise against it. He says also that he should not be the least surprised at their joining the English if they were to march into their country."

The Hon. H. C. Lowther to the Earl of Lonsdale.

1813, Oct. 1, Bilbao.—" We are to march from hence in the morning to Durango which is 20 miles distance from hence, and there remain until Sir Stapleton Cotton has inspected us, and then we proceed on our march to Olite, which will most probably take us eight or ten days, as the roads I understand are very bad and mountainous. Col. Vivian returned from head quarters yesterday, but he has not brought any news with him, he says the army is in capital condition and very healthy, and the numbers amount to upwards of 100,000 men. He says that he should not be the least surprised at the army advancing. They are kept at work the whole of the day in fortifying the passes in the Pyrenees. Lord Wellington has placed a Spanish garrison in St. Sebastian, and he has set them to work to rebuild the walls of the town and castle, and I understand that it will be made uncommonly strong. The French Army does not amount to more than 36,000 men. Of course you have received the accounts of the retreat of Lord W. Bentinck's army. I am afraid Suchet is in too great a force to allow Lord W. B. to drive him out of the country. Our route to Olite is a very circuitous one, but it is on account of getting supplies. The principal places in which we pass are Bergara, Tolosa, and then we come back to Irurzun, and Noain, which you will see by the map is within half a league of Pampeluna and from thence we shall go to Olite, and there remain until there is a movement in the army. One of our officers saw young Chaplin three days ago, he was then going on very well and out of danger. The Spaniards seem very anxious for an advance into France, they expect to regain their losses again, but I think they will find themselves very much mistaken. We have had uncommonly fine weather since our arrival, and very little rain, considering we are in so mountainous a country."

The Hon. H. C. Lowther to the Earl of Lonsdale.

1813, Oct. 17, Olite.—" We arrived last Friday at Olite which is to be our winter quarters, if Lord Wellington does not make any further advance into France. We passed Pampeluna on the 15th inst., and it had not then surrendered, we halted that night at a small village called Noain which is between one and two miles from thence; there was a constant firing that day, and the following morning when we marched we heard the firing commence again. The garrison are now living upon four oz. of horse-flesh and three oz. of bread, and Don Carlos who commands the Spanish Army in front of Pampeluna says that he thinks they will be able to hold out a week or ten days longer. The French general attempted to send 3,000 of the inhabitants out of the town last week, but Don Carlos sent to him to say, that it would go very much against his inclination to fire upon his countrymen, but if he did send them out of town he would fire upon them instantly. However the French persisted in sending them out and Don Carlos fired upon them, and the French were obliged to admit them into the town again. The Spanish general also sent word to the commandant of the garrison, that

if he heard of any Spaniard whatever being starved to death, that he should give orders, when the town surrendered, to have the commandant hung. And I believe Don Carlos will be as good as his word, for a greater savage I believe never lived, at least that is his character in this part of the world. We have come through a most beautiful country and capital roads. We halted one night at a small village called Irurzun, which is about 14 miles N. of Pampeluna, and about 45 miles E. of Vittoria. I have mentioned this, as it was the village in which Lord Wellington dated his 2nd despatch after the battle of Vittoria, and it is also where the French lost their last gun. It is a very small village, situated at the foot of several very high mountains, and which mountains are called the Gates of Biscay. The pass in which the road runs, which is the high road from France to Spain, appears as if the rocks had been cut away for the purpose of making a road, and the valley which the road runs through is upwards of three miles long, and I am sure not above 20 yards wide. It is the most singular thing I ever saw for it would be impossible to pass over any part of the mountains, they are so steep and craggy. Since writing the above I have just heard a report, that they expect the French to make a sortie from Pampeluna, and endeavour to make their escape to France. If that is true, we shall in all probability have a gallop after them, for we are not more than 25 miles from them at present. Sir Thomas Graham of course has arrived with the news of Lord Wellington having passed the Bidassoa and taken up his quarters in France in front of St. Jean de Luz. It is reported to have been the most complete attack that ever was made. The French were attacked at every point, and I suppose they have not forgot the lickings they have received from us in Spain, for they ran from every point they were attacked. Lord Wellington has now got possession of the position he was so anxious of obtaining, and what is of still more advantage to him he will be able to get his supplies up the Bidassoa instead of having to cross those very high mountains. The commissariat have lost upwards of 5,000 mules, since the army has been upon the mountains.

Will you tell my mother that I received her letter dated the 23 of September, and it has given me great pleasure to hear of your all being so well. We are going on uncommonly well in this country, we find it very different to what it was the last time we were here. And I have been as comfortable every day as if I was marching through England. We are ten times better off both for men and horses than we were in Ireland. You must not tell Pat so, or he will never speak to me again. The country we are quartered in at present, is very flat and not a fence for miles and miles, a delightful country for cavalry to act."

The Hon. H. C. Lowther to the Earl of Lonsdale.

1813. Nov. 3, Musquz.—"We marched from Olite the moment Pampeluna fell into the hands of the Spaniards, which was on the 1st of this month. They surrendered upon conditions of being prisoners of war, and I am sorry to say that the Spaniards behaved to them in the most infamous way possible. They plundered every man the moment they lay down their arms and even stripped them as naked as when they were born. They were not even content with that, but the savages (for you cannot call them anything else) murdered, I am under the mark when I say thirty, because the prisoners retaliated at being treated in that manner. I should not have believed it, had I not seen the bodies lying upon the road, and upon enquiries the Spaniards told me this story, and they spoke of it at the same time, with such

enthusiasm as if it was the bravest act that ever was done by Spanish troops, which will ever make me hate the name of Spaniard as long as I live. I am at present quartered at Musquz, which you will see in the map, it is about 15 miles N. of Pampeluna, and about 6 miles E. of Irurzun. It is a very small village consisting of 7 or 8 houses, and in the very centre of the mountains, and I believe we shall remain here until Lord Wellington decides whether he enters France or not. It is the general opinion throughout the army that he intends attacking the French lines and making a rapid march into France, for he has a sufficient force with him for so doing, and his army is in high condition. I went into Pampeluna as our regiment passed under the walls, I think it is by far the finest town I have seen in Spain, and kept beautifully clean; how long it will remain so now the French have left it I cannot say. The French held out until the very last moment they were able. They lived for the last three weeks upon nothing but 4 oz. of bread and 3 oz. of horse-flesh. A great many of the Spaniards were starved to death, one of whom was the Grande of the town. It is an amazing strong place, on the north side it is bordered by the river Agra, and a steep rock of at least 80 feet arising from the foot of the river, the north-west side is by nature falling ground, of at least 60 feet, and the Spaniards long before the French ever had possession of it, built a perpendicular wall on that side, so that it made an amazing strong place on that angle, especially as the ground on that angle of the town falls to the river, which you will see by the map is some distance from that angle of the town, as the river takes a bend after it has passed the north end of the town. The south side there is not any means of approaching with artillery, as the river winds nearly three parts round the town, and the ground upon which the town is built, falling so steep upon the river, and at a distance of at least 3 quarters of a mile. The S.W. end of the town, is the citadel and commands the whole of the city. It is built upon the highest ground, and it commands the whole country around it, as the ground falls so directly from it, and there is not a single rise, for at least 2 miles, so that it would be perfectly ridiculous ever attempting to storm it at least as far as I can see, and from what people say who understand those things. It is of vast importance to our army, for in case Lord Wellington retires (which I hope is not likely) the French cannot advance as long as we have possession of it, and they knew well before they surrendered, of what importance it would be to us, and that they kept Lord Wellington's army in check as long as they held out. No further movements I believe have been made in the army since I last wrote, but we are all anxiously looking forward to spending our winter in France."

The Hon. H. C. Lowther to the Earl of Lonsdale.

1813, Nov. 11, St. Esteran.—"Lord Wellington made his attack upon the French lines yesterday, and I am happy to say with great success, but I am sorry to add with severe loss. The action commenced about 5 o'clock in the morning upon the centre and right of the French army. The French began their retreat about 11 o'clock and continued it I understand, as far as a league in rear of Bayonne. They suffered immensely, two of their divisions in the centre of their army were nearly cut to pieces, with the loss of two French generals and another wounded. Lord Wellington's head-quarters are at a small village, distant of about two miles from Bayonne. The French lost an immense number of guns. No British officer has yet arrived in this town, and these accounts are only picked up from wounded Spaniards who have come to this town. We are not above nine or ten miles from where the

action commenced, and yesterday morning we heard the firing, which was very heavy indeed, until 11 o'clock, and then it began to be very faint, and at about 4 o'clock we could not hear a shot. The wind was in the same quarter the whole day, so that the army must have advanced, or we must have heard the firing in the evening. It was as fine a day as could possibly be yesterday. I went up upon a very high mountain in the morning, just above the town, in hopes of being able to see part of the army, but I was disappointed. I saw an immense way into France, and I saw also part of the smoke rising from the left of our line, but the country being so very hilly prevented my seeing anything of the lines. We are waiting in expectation of being called upon every moment, as Lord Wellington wrote to Lord Edward Somerset (who commands our brigade) the night before the action, saying that the frontiers of France were too hilly for cavalry to act, and desired him to keep us here until he made a further advance into France, so that I have no doubt we shall soon be called upon as the French are retiring so fast."

The Hon. H. C. Lowther to the Earl of Lonsdale.

1813. Nov. 17, Sare.—"Our regiment is now quartered at Sare; it is about 6 miles from the frontiers of Spain, and it is where Lord Wellington first commenced his attack upon the French lines. I have been over the greatest part of the ground where the centre and left of our army was engaged, and from the very strong positions the enemy held, you would not have thought it possible for troops to have got possession of the heights, so strongly fortified as they were, in so short a space of time. The French, ever since they took up that position, have been strengthening themselves by fortifications, breastworks, &c., and from Sare to St. Jean de Luz (where Lord Wellington has taken up his head-quarters), which is upwards of twelve miles, their works are innumerable and immensely strong, and for many miles in rear of where the attack commenced, the ground was in every way favourable in affording them the greatest resistance against our troops, by a chain of hills which are scarcely more than seven hundred yards apart, and at the top of each hill were strong batteries. The French by all accounts seem to have premeditated their retreat, for they took care to have a good road from each of their batteries, and thus retreated in the greatest order possible, and abandoned several of their positions long before our troops reached them. One position in particular, which was full a league in rear of where the attack commenced, and which was an eleven gun battery and garrisoned by six hundred picked men, chiefly Grenadiers, and what seems more extraordinary they had upwards of four days' provisions in it, surrendered without firing a shot. The fact was I believe that the British advanced so rapidly, that they were surrounded before they had the least conception of our troops being so near them. Our loss compared with the French is very great, but that must have been foreseen from the nature of the ground, our troops upon all occasions having to attack them in their redoubts. The French prisoners I believe amount to nearly 1,000, and they lost also 52 pieces of artillery. St. Jean de Luz surrendered, their troops making but a slight resistance. The French set fire to the bridge, but the inhabitants extinguished it, before it did any damage. A great number of the inhabitants fled from the town but have since returned, and others are coming back to the town daily. They are uncommonly civil to our troops, they treated our wounded with the greatest kindness possible, and gave them every assistance that lay in their power. The French

villages I have been in are nearly deserted, and a great number who have returned, all agree in saying that they were forced by their own troops to quit their houses, with the threat that if they did not, their houses should be burnt and they themselves hung. The only dread the inhabitants have is that of the Spaniards being quartered upon them. Wherever a Spanish soldier entered a house, he destroyed every article in the house and even pulled the roofs from the houses. Lord Wellington hung seven on the 10th inst. and I have heard of several more since that have been executed for plundering. He has sent the whole of the Spanish army to the rear as far as Tolosa and Villa Franca. I never saw people more civil or more attentive then the French are to our soldiers. We have marched through a most beautiful country since I last wrote to you, over the very tops of the Pyrenees, which makes France look very flat, although it is a hilly country; what little I have seen is very pretty and resembles Yorkshire. Two sergeants of the Gens d'Armes deserted to our army on the night of the 16th inst., and they informed the officer whom I met the following morning that great discontent prevailed in the French army, they not having received a farthing of their pay for these last five years, and the troops since they have been in their own country have scarcely drawn any provisions. They also stated that they had heard three weeks ago (for the first time) the result of Bonaparte's campaign in Russia, and that now it was generally spoken of throughout the whole army. They also stated that papers had arrived from Paris, stating that no accounts had been received from Bonaparte for three days and the report was that he was missing. I hope he never will be found again. They also said that the French army had not the least confidence in the commanding officer (Soult) and that the British would defeat them whenever they chose to attack them; and I am sure you would believe it if you were to see the positions they left without even thinking of making a stand. Our light divisions suffered severely, the 54th which forms one of the brigade lost nearly 300 men, and the 95th also had upwards of two-thirds of their men killed and wounded."

The Hon. H. C. Lowther to the Earl of Lonsdale.

1813, Nov. 22nd, Echauri.—"Since I last wrote to you we received orders to retreat to this part of the country, there not being a sufficiency of forage for our horses in France, which has disappointed us all very much, as we expected to spend our winter quarters in France, and being marched over the Pyrenees at this time of year, we little thought of being sent back again in so short a space of time. Our regiment is now quartered on the banks of the Agra, in seven different villages, my troop at present is at Echauri, it is but a small place, but we have a sufficiency of forage in it to last our troops the whole winter, it is about 2 leagues and a half from Pampeluna, and about 6 leagues from Estella, and lays in a direct line between these two towns. Lord Wellington has taken up his winter quarters at St. Jean de Luz, and all our troops have been allowed to put up in villages and houses for the first time these six months and it is generally supposed that Lord Wellington does not intend making any further movement until the spring. Two of our generals were wounded on the 19th inst. reconnoitering; General Vachleur is one and General Wilson the other, the latter general was shot through the lower jaw, and the ball was extracted from the roots of his tongue." Asks his father to use his influence to procure him promotion to a majority in one of the West India regiments, which he would not be compelled to join as long as he remained in Parliament. [The writer was member for Westmorland.]

The Hon. H. C. Lowther to his brother Viscount Lowther.

1813, Dec. 2. Echauri.—"We are now under orders to go to the front again, which I am not sorry for in the least, as I am quite tired of remaining still in this country, and as France is far more preferable to any part of Spain, we expect now to have comfortable winter quarters, although we shall have the outpost duty, but that will not come to our turn more than once in four or five days, as there is a fine river between the two armies. The French are uncommonly civil to our troops. St. Juan de Luce is a very good town and as good a market as in any town in England. There were upwards of two thousand people returned to the town last week. The peasants are also returning to their cottages daily, and it is generally supposed that in the course of a few weeks, that they will nearly all be returned. They talk of Lord Wellington remaining in his present quarters during the winter, I cannot say how far this is true, but one thing I know, that he is collecting all his force together and orders have been given repeatedly to all the surgeons of hospitals not to keep a man a day after he is fit to do his duty, so that by that he wishes to have as strong a force with him as possible. Lord Wellington has sent the whole of the Spanish army to the rear, they behaved so infamously to the inhabitants, they were not content with plundering the different houses, but in many places they broke the limbs of the poor unfortunate people. And even the inhabitants of Spain came for miles and miles, when they heard of the advance of the army into France, and they returned with their mules laden with plunder. When Lord Wellington heard of this, he ordered our regiment to send out patrols and catch these plunderers and search their mules, and in the course of four or five days, I believe we sent in upwards of eight hundred of these rascals to head-quarters. They soon found out what our men were always patroling the country for, and for the last two or three days we were in France, the moment they saw a man of our regiment coming, they used to set off across the country as fast as they could."

The Hon. H. C. Lowther to the Earl of Lonsdale.

1814. Feb. 3rd, Hasparren. "Every person seems to think that Lord Wellington will advance very shortly, and I should conceive it very probable that he would, for he cannot remain much longer in his present quarters unless he wishes to starve the inhabitants, for they are all crying out for bread, and they all agree in saying that they have not above a fortnight's consumption left in their houses, and that they must either leave their homes and houses or starve. I believe it to be the case, for when the army first came into this country, both infantry and cavalry took every morsel of grain they could find in the houses for their horses and mules, and I know myself that our regiment has been in every house within ten miles of their present quarters, and that they could not find a grain of corn in any one of them, so that we must either advance to allow the inhabitants to get provisions, or on the other hand, if we remain in our present quarters these poor unfortunate people must remain at home and starve. The country now is nearly drained of everything, and there is scarcely a thing to be got but what comes from England. Our horses have been living these last three weeks upon nothing but chopped furze and about once a week we get about 10 lbs. of corn, every bit of hay and straw being consumed in the country. I am very sorry for the fate of these poor unfortunate inhabitants, for they are the best tempered race of people I ever met with,

and will do anything in the world you ask of them. I should conceive this country in time of peace, to be one of the richest and most beautiful countries in the world. There is not an inhabitant that does not possess a capital house, and as for anything like a poor cottage [it] is quite unknown in this country, and what is more surprising, there is not a single beggar to be met with, which is very different to Spain, for you cannot move in that country without having eight or ten at your heels.

Some Spanish officers who arrived at this place two days ago, and who were sent from the interior to be exchanged, state that about 200 miles from hence they met two divisions of infantry and 2,500 cavalry marching towards Paris. The inhabitants informed us three weeks ago, that two divisions of Infantry had left Soult's army, but very little credit was given to them as they bring in so many false reports. However their report is confirmed now, so that Soult's army at present must be very weak, Their whole army is under arms every morning an hour before daylight and remains so until 11 or 12 o'clock, for they expect to be attacked every day. The Spaniards have had a good deal of skirmishing with them lately, but the Spaniards run away in a most shameful manner."

The Hon. H. C. Lowther to the Earl of Lonsdale.

1814, Feb. 18th, Oregue, 2 leagues on the Hasparren side of St. Palais.—"The army advanced on the 14th of this month, and the French retreated making but very little defence. Sir R. Hill had the command of the right of the army which advanced on that day about one mile beyond Hellette which you will see by the map is about 12 miles distant from St. Jean Pied de Port. The French retreated after dark to a height about 3 miles in front of St. Palais, where our army overtook them about 2 o'clock on Tuesday. There was skirmishing until dark and at 7 o'clock the British troops attacked them. They were taken quite by surprise as our troops advanced during the time our artillery kept a heavy fire upon the spot where the French were observed to take their position before dark. The English, Portuguese, and Spaniards, advanced at the same time in three different columns upon the height, and it being perfectly dark, the enemy were panic struck at the approach of the troops, and as they had not the slightest expectation of an attack, they were not prepared for the reception of the allies, and from what I can learn they lost about 300 prisoners, a great number of officers. The slaughter on the enemy's side was immense. They retreated that night beyond St. Palais, and are moving upon Peyrehorade as fast as they can. The advance of the British have crossed the river which runs by St. Palais, and falls into the Adour and the following day the army crossed the river at St. Palais and Came, and what advance we have made since I am quite in the dark. Our regiment is now turning out to advance to a village about 6 miles beyond Came called Arrante."

The Hon. H. C. Lowther to the Earl of Lonsdale.

1814, March 7th, Barcelona.—"I have been ever since the 15th of last month wishing that we might halt a day that I might be able to send you a few lines to let you know how we were going on, but ever since that day until now we have not had an hour to ourselves. So what has been done in this country lately, I must refer you to his lordship's despatches, for we never know what is passing on in the army excepting at the spot in which we are. I am happy to say, and you

will also be glad to hear that our regiment received thanks in general orders the day after the battle of Orthes for their steady and gallant conduct on that day. We charged the infantry twice, the first time was early in the day, the second was about 5 o'clock in the evening, when we took twelve officers, and upwards of seven hundred men. We had three officers wounded and our loss was about thirty men killed and wounded. Thornhill I am sorry to say was badly wounded, he has joined us since and is recovering fast. I was very much afraid that his wound was worse than it now appears to have been, for it was a thrust from a standard just below the ribs, the only standard that was taken on that day. He attributes his life being saved by my tumbling over his opponent, for I saw the perilous situation he was in, and galloping up to the man, my horse fell with me about two yards before I reached him, which knocked him over, and we all lay sprawling upon the ground together. However in the scuffle Monsieur lost his standard, and I had my sword fast round my wrist, which made him then very civil, and beg for mercy, which I was glad to give him, for I should not have relished a poke from such a weapon in the least. The allies' loss on that day was severe, owing to the strong position they had to drive the enemy from. Soult is said to have declared to his officers and men, that the British with whatever force they could bring against him, could not drive him from those heights in three days. However, he was egregiously mistaken and his loss on that day is estimated at 10,000 men, including deserters after they were driven from their position, which was late in the evening, for our attack did not begin until past twelve o'clock. Their whole army was in confusion in a valley near Sault (*sic*) Sever, about one league and a half from Orthes, and if the country had been open, and not so very much enclosed as it was, their whole army must have been cut to pieces by the British cavalry. For the French troops were so tired they could not run, but were moving off as fast as they were able without looking behind them to see whether any troops were following them. They have retreated by St. Sever, and were making for Bordeaux, but hearing Sir J. Hope had crossed the Adour and might get there before them, they altered their course and are supposed to be making their way to Toulouse, to join Suchet at that town. They have blown up every bridge on the road, which has impeded us very much, and by which means they have got several days start of us, and unless Suchet's army joins M. Soult, I do not believe we shall ever see his army again, for deserters are coming in every hour and there is scarcely a day passes without twenty or 30 arriving. Our regimen at present is about a league in front of Barcelona on the Auch road. I believe we shall halt a few days for the weather has been very wet lately, which has overflowed the rivers, so that we expect to remain in our present quarters until the weather gets more settled.

Sir Rowland Hill gave the French division which was on the south side of the Adour a good drubbing the other evening. I was on picquet on the opposite side of the river close to the town of Air and saw the whole affair. They drove the French in every direction and took a great many prisoners. Our loss was 150 killed and wounded. There is a report circulated that the allies have entered Paris without a shot being fired, but whether it is the case or not we are quite ignorant."

The Hon. H. C. Lowther to the Earl of Lonsdale.

1815, August 23rd, Beauvais.—"I have to thank you for your letter I received a few days ago. I have been to Paris for this last week. Marshal Ney is arrived there, he came last Thursday, and his trial is

to come on in a very few days. He was taken in Switzerland at a relation's house, by the Gens d'Armery, who followed him so close that he had been but a very few hours in the house before they came up with him. Labédoyère was shot near Paris by a company of Grenadiers, on the very day that Ney arrived, and I hope he will have the same fate. He deserves it richly. Troops are arriving in this country daily, and the general opinion seems to be that the army will not return home until near Christmas. The Duchess of Rutland passed through here on her way to Paris about a fortnight ago. The Prussians have taken a great number of pictures from the gallery and would have taken a vast number more, had not the other Powers interfered. I did not hear until a few days ago, the particulars of poor major Hodge's death. The man who informed me was a private in the regiment, who had been wounded at the same time, and was passing through this town on his way to join the 7th. The facts are these, that Hodge charged on the 17th at the head of his squadron, against the enemy's Lancers, who were formed up in the high road, in which charge his horse was killed and himself badly wounded, having a sabre cut across the head, and his bridle hand nearly cut in two. He was taken prisoner with two privates of the 7th who had their horses killed also, before they had gone 100 yards to the rear, the 7th charged the Lancers a second time and obliged them to retire, at which period the Lancers conceiving they were defeated, put to death their prisoners. Hodge was piked in two places through the neck and back, and he expired instantly. The soldier who told me this was within two yards of Hodge the whole time and was wounded himself in three places, having two pike wounds in his side and one on his head. This man was in hospital at Brussels at the time Mrs. Hodge was there, she went to see him, and asked him if he knew anything concerning her husband's death, he gave her the whole account, but she would not believe a single word of it. Alas ! I am afraid she will find it too true."

II.—MANUSCRIPTS AT WHITEHAVEN CASTLE.

ROGER KIRKBY [M.P. for Lancaster] to his brother-in-law CHRISTOPHER LOWTHER, High Sheriff of the county of Cumberland.

1641, July 5, [London] . . . . . "The House of Commons has declared that it is not fit that so much luxury should be used by sheriffs in their entertainments and attendants, and that no sheriff should give any entertainment to the judges, nor fees or gratuities to the judge's men; and this declaration the Lord Keeper is to acquaint the judges withal before they go in their circuits; and the House is resolved to proceed to make an Act for the prevention of such inconveniences for the future. However this is a sure opportunity to do both yourself and the country right. This I thought good to give you notice of as timely as possible, it being but the motion of yesterday, and so you may fit your occasions."

. . . . . "Yesterday I must tell you there appeared a little rub in our proceedings which is much feared by many and what effects it may produce is to be feared in-

deed. It was this, we had prepared two bills, one for the extirpation of the Star Chamber, and regulating the Council board; and another for the taking away the High Commission Court. These we hoped should have passed, with the great bill of Poll money: but his Majesty gave his assent to the Poll bill, and took time to consider of the other two. This has begotten very much discontent amongst men especially in the City, so as it is thought the money will not be paid unless those bills pass; but what will be the end no one knows. This great sum is to be received by all the sheriffs of England, and some are to return the money to York and some to London . . . . .
The want of money for the disbanding of the services, and the jealousies amongst men begotten by these plots and conspiracies and discontents about the Court, have put a delay and a stand in all other business; and yet we have sitten every day both forenoon and aftereven till 8 or 9 of the clock at night. The business now in hand is the charges against the Bishop (*sic*) of Canterbury, and the judges, the disbanding of the army, and the further discovery of Perlies (*sic*) plot, which by some men is much more feared than by others, being verily thought by many it will end in nothing.

This day the King hath passed the two bills and all are well pleased, so that now there is no talk but of great disbanding, and the King's going into Scotland."

ROGER KIRKBY [M.P. for Lancaster] to his brother-in-law CHRISTOPHER LOWTHER, High Sheriff of the county of Cumberland.

1641, July 10.—"The House of Commons continue in their resolution concerning the entertainment of judges and the exorbitant fees and gratuities challenged by their men. There is a bill in the House which has been twice read against this abuse, and for the present there is a Committee appointed to draw a declaration to that purpose whereof I am one; this day we are to meet about it. . . . For the judges we hear of none spoken of yet for our circuit but Serjeant Whitfeeld alone . . .

For news I must refer you to the last, only this, the King has made his manifesto concerning the Queen of Bohemia, his sister, and her children; and the House of Commons has approved of it. . . For the Bishops' bill, which is now the great work in agitation, and it is a great work indeed, for the settlement of the government of the Church doth depend upon it, is as yet but under commitment in our House and hath many rubs, going with much difficulty on; so that if it pass as it is thought it will go off with much opposition; and then what will be be done in the Lords' house may be easily imagined."

The SAME to the SAME.

1641, August 12. . . . "For the judges Sir Robert Heath is to be your only judge. He will come from York to Appleby, and so to Carlisle, which will be the 2nd of September. I was with him, and did present your service to him, but for matter of his entertainment did not meddle because the House of Commons was still in hand with their declarations concerning these things, but was not finished when I came down."

The SAME to the SAME.

1641, Aug. 15.—On private matters.

Protestant Dissenters of Whitehaven.

1694, July 6, Whitehaven.—Memorial of the Protestant Dissenters to Sir John Lowther for the grant of "so much ground as might serve the good intent and purpose of your humble servants who would not desire more in front than twenty yards and thirty yards backwards, in Hodgson's Croft near the rivulet."

About 60 signatures attached—only 3 or 4 by mark.

[1694, Nov. 5.] and 1694-5, March 20, Whitehaven.—Letters of thanks, signed by Elisha Gale and others, for the great favour conferred upon them by the grant of the above.

William Penn to Sir John Lowther.

1701, June 16 ("16·6^{m}"), Pennsberry.—"Honored Friend, I would not but have thought my selfe lost in thy country entertainments but I finde that Whitehaven is much kinder than Whitehall to Pennsylvania, for the one sends it good wishes and the other suffers itselfe to be mislead to crush such prosperous beginings. I return my most hearty acknowledgements for thy obligeing remembrance and beg the continuance of thy good word and wishes for our prosperity; for whatever interested men suggest, we are an approved experiment what sobriety and industry can do in a wilderness against heats, colds, wants and dangers. The Crown gets best by us, but its officers less than by other Governments, and that's our crime; but time will sett truth in a better light, to which I adjourn my resentments. We thrive, our town, I think, too much for the country, not keeping a ballance in all things in Government is (perhaps) the hidden but sure cause of visible obstructions and entanglements in administration. I finde the country 70 miles back, the best land, Sasquehanah a glorious river boatable upon freshes. We are planted 170 miles upon Delaware, and in some places 16 miles back into the woods. Our staple corn and tobacco; we are trying for rice, converted timber for shipping and hemp. Returns for England is what we want, and either we must have less from thence or better ways of making them. Barbado's and those Islands are our market and we are too hard for our neighbours in our flowr and bread, being the whitest and preferred; we spare much of both to our neighbour colonys also, as New England, Maryland, Virginia, and Carolina, where wheat will hardly grow, but rice to perfection, and silk is got to a good pitch, and will certainly be a commodity. We have had a good share of health since our arrival and my family encreast by a little son, and if ill treatment call us not home are like, if God please to prolong life, to pass away a year or two at least. Only my privat affairs could make me leave it any more, but they will compel it once again, and then it would not displease me to lay my bones where I have layd my labour, mony, and solicitation, in Pennsylvania.

I shall close with this assurance that I am with great esteem and affection

thy very faithfull Friend
Wm. Penn."

Nicholas Lechmere to [James Lowther].

1713, Sept. 17.—I am very sensible how much I am obliged to you for the success of my election. Your presence and favour was a balance to the good will of your brother Lawson, of which I had some account. By all the computations I have heard of distinguishing between Whig

and Tory, the latter are least 3 to 1; but on the Court test, which is, for or against the Bill of Commerce, 'tis believed the Bill has lost ground.

[There are two or three letters previous to this touching Lechmere's election for Cockermouth.]

HENRY NEWMAN to the Honble. JAMES LOWTHER, member of Parliament, at Whitehaven.

1713, October 8.—Young man's Coffeehouse [London].

"The Guardian was laid down this day senight and the Englishman is rise up to supply its place. The subject of it this day is what I have often heard you bewail, the loss of public spirits (*sic*); and therefore I have sent it for your meditation, it being some satisfaction to find others of the same sentiments with our selves tho' upon a melancholy theme. That Mr. Steele is the author of this as much as he was of the other I believe I need not tell you, because his style discovers him in whatever he writes. He is very much threaten'd to be voted disqualified to serve this Parliament, but I hope with the help of you and some other of his friends he will be able to keep his seat . . . . . General Cadogan is come over and has had a gracious reception as is said by the Government, and my Lord Tr——r said t'other day at his levée *we expect the Duke over in a little time*, but whether he means anything or nothing by saying so time will unfold. I am sorry General Stanhope miscarried at Cockermouth, but 'tis hoped he will be chose at Sarum where Mr. (Fox?) since his election is dead . . . Things abroad look as ever. M. Villars is besieging Fribourg, and if Pr. Eugene can't give him battle must in all likelihood carry it, and then nothing but a general battle can hinder his marching into Bavaria. There will be a great struggle in the City election next Monday, and 'tis thought the contest will end in choosing 2 W—gs and 2 T's."

HENRY NEWMAN to the Honble. JAMES LOWTHER, member of Parliament, at Whitehaven.

1713, October 20.—Whitehall. . . . . .

The Poll (in the City) began yesterday se'night and is not yet ended, unless they have closed it by consent this evening when the Poll books yielded the following numbers:—

Ward, 3,654.	Hoare, 3,667.
Scawen, 3,552.	Withers, 3,587.
Heysham, 3,665.	Cass, 3,633.
Godfrey, 3,604.	Newland, 3,655.

Considering the great influence the magistracy, Common Council, and Lieutenancy have over the City 'tis a wonder the W—gs have been able to make such a shew on this occasion as they have.

HENY NEWMAN to the Honble. JAMES LOWTHER, member of Parliament, at Whitehaven.

1713, Nov. 3.—Whitehall. . . . . .

Mr. St——le under the title of Englishman continues to write very freely and 'tis hoped will open some men's eyes.

HENRY NEWMAN to the Honble. JAMES LOWTHER, member of Parliament, at Whitehaven.

1713, November 21, Whitehall.— . . . . .

The Treasury writers begin to be out of breath, and the W—gs to take heart, and if you'll believe the Examiner of Monday last there are great prognostications that the present M——y will not be of long

duration, though he trembles to think what will be the consequences of the W——gs getting into the saddle again; one of which he says will be to involve all Europe abroad in a Civil war. His Paper of yesterday says nothing on this head but gives notice of a voluntary resignation he is about to make of his paper, and to acknowledge that some of his adversaries have acted their parts pretty well, the Medley especially.

. . . . . .

The Englishman of last Thursday dissected the Jacobite folio about Hereditary Right, &c. so as to spoil effectually the market of the book, and to open the eyes of many people.

HENRY NEWMAN to the Honble. JAMES LOWTHER, member of Parliament, at Whitehaven.

1713, December 26, Whitehall.—My last was since the 10th of this month, but what day exactly I cannot tell. The subject of it was to give you an account of the meeting of some of your friends at the Leg tavern in Fleet Street the 9th, with a few of their acquaintance to the number of 21 English to give a dinner to the 10 French confessors that were then in town of those lately set at liberty from the galleys. The appearance was what I am sure would have pleased you, their modesty and behaviour was so moving, that after dinner a collection being promoted there was collected what you find a particular account of in the Paper accompanying this [*missing*] and 'tis hoped a considerable addition will be made to it by some gentlemen in the City who would gladly have given their company at the entertainment, but it was fear'd their appearance would have been thought too ostentatious.

[There are a few other letters of the same writer in 1718 and 1729, dated from the Middle Temple and Bartlett's Buildings.]

BISHOP (NICHOLSON) OF CARLISLE to JAMES LOWTHER at Whitehaven.

1714, October 9, Rose . . . We continue here in the most profound quiet as to matters of election, every one taking it for granted there's no room for the disturbers of our peace to fix a foot amongst us. Brigadier Stanwix has been happily instrumental in carrying one great point for Sir R. Sandford at Appleby. His brother Nevinson seem'd resolved to accept of the mayoralty, notwithstanding the due election (according to Charter) of Mr. John Baynes. But the late mayor was at last persuaded to consider the hazard which he would be in by countenancing such illegal pretensions, and therefore resigned his staff to Baynes.

BISHOP (NICHOLSON) OF CARLISLE to JAMES LOWTHER at WHITEHAVEN.

1714, Oct. 20. . . . "You hear of Sir Con. Phipp's commencing Dr. of Laws at Oxford, on the Coronation Day, and the reasons given for their conferring that mark of respect. They were—for his wise conduct in Ireland *et propter insignem defensionem Herois nostri Oxoniensis*, an improper day for the playing of Champion Sacheverell against Champion Dimock."

BISHOP (NICHOLSON) OF CARLISLE to JAMES LOWTHER at Whitehaven.

1714, Dec. 4, Rose . . . What comforts I am to promise myself from my new brethren on the Bench I cannot yet tell. Dr. Wyn has the reputation of being a learned and good-tempered person. But my Lord of Cant. seems not to hope for the like respects in him, as in the

Bishop of Glocr. His promotion is chiefly owing to the E. of N., who (after his refusal of the see of St. A. for one or both of his own brothers) had the favour allow'd him of giving his third option to his son Mostyn's friend. The good old man at Lambeth is not quite satisfy'd with this motley succession in the prelates of his province, since it affords no sure prospect of having any end put to his synodical squabbles.

Whether Dr. Phipps (as they call him) will have any further distinguishing mark of the University's favour for his heroic defence of their champion, time must shew. The fore-mentioned advancement of their Margaret Professor has so far transported some of the most sanguine advocates for the Irish Chancellor that they make use of it as a sure argument of the Court's inclining to that party of men, as the only stanch supporters of monarchy. A few months more, it is hoped, will convince them of their mistake . . .

I am sorry that Mr. Yates's bodily infirmities have no due effect upon his mind. His picking up young (and loose) curates to call down fire from above on lukewarmness here below, shows what manner of spirit he is of. You are not, sir, to wonder at these intemperances amongst our country zealots; since those of the city are yet more inflamed. They do not only print and preach ; but pray in their pulpits, against the growth of the *Lutheran Heresy*, and 'tis not difficult to guess what's meant by that behaviour. This forwardness will do good in the end."

Bishop (Nicholson) of Carlisle to James Lowther at Whitehaven.

1714–5, Feb. 19.—The inclos'd comes down from so good a hand that I cannot doubt of its being very just. I am also able to acquaint you (from the same hand) that the little misunderstandings, which seem'd to be arising amongst the great ones above are pretty well blown over.

Enclosure.—Paper headed "State of Elections, Feb. 9."

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Bishop (Nicholson) of Carlisle to James Lowther at Whitehaven.

1714–5, Mar. 3. Rose.—About the election of members to Convocation—the old Proctors, Mr. Chancellor Tullie and Mr. Benson returned.

"I can honestly assure you that my nephew Rothery was not advised by Mr. Y[ates] in the preaching against slander ; for he gave us that sermon in my chapel, and 'twas I who wished him to take it with him to Whitehaven." Alludes to the new church at Whitehaven.

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LONDON : Printed by EYRE and SPOTTISWOODE,
Printers to the Queen's most Excellent Majesty.
For Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION.

Date.	——	Size.	Sessional Paper.	Price.
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